

Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1950

General correspondence incl. Montreal & Windsor, ON

- 01_04 **Document: *RWP Discussion Bulletin*, incl. by R.D. “An explanation”** (on the J. Rose and K. Andrews document “Should we support the UE”); on the CCL-CIO vs. the (Stalinist-dominated) United Electrical Workers union; our line is not Stalinophobic but neutral in this inter-bureaucratic struggle; the UE has been expelled from the mainstream of the Canadian labor movement, we choose to remain in it
- 01_11 Letter to Grenier (J-M Bédard) & Fitz (Murray D.)(Montreal), re: walkout by Jim & Kit after reading a letter to the branch; expecting your report on the purpose and powers of a (control) commission
- 01_20 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard, re: the evolving nature of the Catxtlic syndicates; attempts to link with Yugoslav dissidents; Montreal branch matters
- 01_23 Letter to the Windsor ON branch, re: their first class a success; future class topics; covering the Lenin Memorial meeting
- 02_02 Letter to Ruth (Benson, SWP, New York), re: substantial civic election vote won; on *Labor Challenge* layout; the Rose attacks on the RWP “bureaucracy”
- 02_21 Letter to the Windsor comrades, re: on printing their class leaflet; Don (D.’s) queries about the *LC* article on the unemployed union; progress with the class series; RD’s critique of our branch radio script not thought out very well
- 02_21B Letter to J-M Bédard & Murray Dowson, Montreal, re: Rose’s attack on bureaucracy in the RWP (R. Dowson) and publication of his document as well as on the UE dispute
- 02_22 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Windsor, re: a note on the Rose attack on Ross
- 03_01 Letter to J-M Bédard, Montreal, re: upcoming LC deadline; need articles, BC CCF developments; opinions on Rose and the UE?
- 03_07 Letter to J-M Bédard & F(itz, Murray Dowson), re: shifting next LC to coverage of BC CCF convention as left moves out
- 03_21 Letter to Murray and Jean, re: our big LC play on BC CCF; a tough line against Quebec CPer Walsh; translations; Barry Brent’s effective document against Rose
- 03_22 Letter to Don (D?), Windsor, re: demanding a retraction from the *Tribune* (Stalinist) slander; flooding CCF convention in BC with latest *LC*

- 03_23 Letter to Don (D.?), re: his conflict with Hugh over a small matter
- 03_30 Letter to the Windsor comrades, re: welcoming your comments on Labor Challenge; the Windsor class series; the Stalinist opposition to the unemployed union; trade union matters
- 03_99 Undated letter fragment found in March, to J-M Bédard, re: the Pierre Frank pamphlet on the history of Trotskyism
- 04_02 Letter to Jean and Murray, Montreal, re: any Montreal articles?
- 04_26 Letter to J-M Bédard, re: lining up a union job for a contact; Montreal branch affairs; response to the latest (April) bulletin?
- 04_99 ***Document: RWP Internal Bulletin with entries by Rose; RD on "A further note on the discussion;"*** (on Rose's factional method of argument and conduct in the branch); ***RWP "Convention Call"***
- 05_10 Letter to the Windsor branch, re: advice not to leaflet CCF or CPP social events; our hot reception at a Toronto peace rally where we managed to speak
- 05_16 Letter to J-M Bédard, re: both RD and Barry taking on part-time jobs; the Stalinist-dominated Peace Congress; Ross threatened but is allowed to speak but not Barry as we leafleted the hall; booed on Yugoslavia; LC subs and admin
- 05_16B Letter to J-M Bédard, re: reaching out to the Montreal Yugoslavs
- 06_07 Letter to Warde (George Novack), SWP, New York, re: Canadian Yugoslav dissident journalist now in New York
- 06_23 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Windsor, re: the problem of the two Dons (D. and B.) as comrades and unionists; a query about Hugh's situation there vs. moving back to Toronto
- 07_03 Letter to Murray Dowson, Montreal, re: would he like to join the American expedition to Yugoslavia?
- 07_05 Letter to J-M Bédard, Montreal, re: funds for IS (FI) appeal?
- 07_07 Letter to Windsor branch, re: the project of a Canadian Youth Labor brigade to Yugoslavia; possibly we could send a comrade
- 07_21 Letter to J-M Bédard, Montreal, re: his sending clippings on Yugoslavia and the Korean war; a resolution from Vancouver re postponing the (RWP) convention; little success contacting Yugoslavs

07_29 Letter to J-M Bédard, re: situation in the Toronto branch touch and go as Rose's resolution only just defeated

08_01 Letter to Murray Dowson, Montreal, re: his series (on the Catholic church) getting a good response

08_16 Letter to J-M Bédard, re: a heavy mailing of LC to CCF left following right swing of leadership; the LPP and its NFLY front; notes on the IWA in Quebec, security concerns

09_05 Letter to Murray Dowson and J-M Bédard, re: Murray's next instalment on the Catholic church and other LC articles; a left caucus appearing in the BC CCF; Murray should go on a tour to BC

09_21 Letter to the Windsor Branch, re: CCF and Yugoslav contact work; a woman militant ready to join; Trotsky's suggested line-up for talks on the four internationals; the Windsor Branch established

09_22 Letter to a Henry M., Windsor, re: his erroneous letter on the nature of the Catholic church

10_01 Letter to J-M Bédard and Murray Dowson, Montreal, re: the rehash and errors of Rose's latest bulletin on the unions; critical remarks on J-M's article on the history of the FI;

10_03 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Windsor, re: minutes of first branch meeting received; should we invite Detroit SWP comrades to attend to help recruiting

10_17 Letter to J-M Bédard, Montreal, re: what is state of nationalist and antiwar sentiment in Quebec? The low CCF vote; an RWP statement on the Korean war; the centre's bad finances; our expulsion from NFLY

10_17B Letter to the Windsor branch, re: a critique of their Labor speakers script; PAC work and the scandal of Reaume's endorsement; a Toronto civic election campaign; Toronto classes and SWP visitors

10_27 Letter to the Windsor Branch of the RWP, re: need to avoid a serious error in supporting "friend of labor" Reaume

10_27B Letter to Don (B.), Windsor, re: need to overcome Don (D.)'s support of Reaume; his making a pledge to the fund drive

10_28 Letter to J-M Bédard, Montreal, re: his first instalment on the history of the FI

11_15 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Windsor, re: his arrest in Packinghouse strike action; Don (D.)'s apparent withdrawal of resignation threat

- 11_30 Letter to J-M Bédard and Murray Dowson (Fitz), re: Rose's latest proposals re branch voting on union matters; time for action against the f(r)action has come
- 12_06 Letter to J-M Bédard, re: need his translation of the IS (FI) Yugoslav letter; go ahead with the control commission over the holidays
- 12_15 Letter to J-M Bédard and Murray (Fitz), re: reporting the BC reaction to the Rose faction for the consideration of the control commission; Rose's politics re the CCF and the IUE-UE dispute and his assessment of working class consciousness; a detailed analysis
- 12_24 Letter to J-M Bédard, re: the translation of the IS (FI) Yugoslav letter; the operation of the control commission to hear charges against Rose
- 12_26 Letter to Murray Dowson (Fitz) and J-M Bédard (Grenier), re: Rose's latest two letter to the NC and to the IS (FI); Barry's blowup against Rose in the branch
- 12_28 Letter to G and F (J-M Bédard and Murray), re: their reply to Rose from the control commission, Rose's further motions to the branch
- 12_99 Undated letter fragment (page 2) found in 1950, to Murray Dowson in Montreal, re: the factional attitude of Rose towards leading Toronto comrades; his sectarian attacks against the CCF and trade union leadership

DISCUSSION DOCUMENT

Should we support the UE

By J. Rose and K. Andrews

An Explanation

By Ross Dowson

THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

of

CANADA

5 cents

1950-Jan

In defending our own interests which are the interests of the working class as a whole, it is necessary for us to estimate the relationship of forces in this struggle between the two bureaucratic cliques and to determine our strategy on this basis. Sometimes it is necessary to give before the storm in order to fight another day under more favourable conditions. This situation confronts us today, when we are a small force, as yet having no strength in any union except perhaps the IWA.

Above all we want to stay with the mass movement of the workers. We are opposed to the expulsion of the Stalinist-dominated unions from the TLC-AFL (the craft union federations in Canada and the US –ed.) and CCL-CIO (the new industrial union federations). But the nature and degree of our opposition has to be determined by a correct estimation of the relationship of forces. At no time can we afford to identify ourselves completely with the Stalinists. The relationship of forces has made it certain that the Stalinist forces are going to be given the gate. We, with our present pitifully small forces, cannot even hope to change this situation. If this is true, it would be folly for us to put ourselves in a position that forces our expulsion along with theirs.

We have to give, to submit to a temporary curb of democratic rights that will accompany the Stalinist expulsions. But the degree of our give before the assault or opposition to it has to be determined on the basis of our knowledge that we must remain in the mainstream of the organized labor movement, conscious that new struggles will see a change in the relationship of forces.

It is my belief that the question of our conduct in the UE-IEU dispute (between the CP-controlled United Electrical Workers' Union and the International UE set up by the CCL-CIO –ed.) has to be considered within the framework of the above remarks. There is no principle that requires us to battle down to defeat and isolation with the Stalinists; we want to assess the relationship of forces and determine our tactics accordingly.

But before taking up the concrete situation, it is necessary first to clear away some of the distortions and confusion contained in the preceding document.

It concludes that in the LaPlante article the party's position instead of being "the sharpest kind of castigation against the trade union bureaucracy... has been diverted into Stalinophobic channels." Comrade LaPlante is characterized as "erroneously" reporting the facts with "eagerness" – or in other words, with purpose — Stalinophobic purpose. This is a serious charge, but there is not the slightest wisp of proof that the article appearing in the November issue has any element of Stalinophobia in it.

This charge is an old and familiar one from the lips of the above two comrades. It will meet with the contempt that it deserves when it will be recalled that the same comrades raised the same charge of Stalinophobia when the NC and the Toronto branch refused to accept their line of supporting three Stalinist leaders running against CCF candidates in the last federal elections.

Far from being Stalinophobic, the article is in large part a condemnation of the CCL-CIO leadership, closing with the statement that the task of the militants is to build their principled opposition to the bureaucrats and misleaders of both stripes.

The article in question appears in the same issue as a report of the UE expulsion from the CIO which it was designed to supplement. This report from start to finish is an attack against the trade union bureaucracy. This report, taken from the Militant, advances the policy which comrades Rose and Andrews hasten to attempt to identify themselves with and to hold up as being contradictory to the LaPlante article.

Comrade Rose's document in an authoritative and weighty style solemnly states that "the record of the trade union hierarchy does not allow a choice between the two bureaucratic machines." It carries forward this line with the assertion that the trade union bureaucracy "is the most reactionary force within the Canadian labor movement." If one did not read LaPlante's article which is supposed to be under attack one might think that it was a song in praise of the trade union bureaucracy. But straw men are created only to be knocked down. The truth is that the whole issue of the paper including the disputed article is an exposure and attack against the trade union bureaucracy.

Comrade Laplante did not in his "eagerness" . . . "erroneously report" anything but the facts that at that time were at our disposal. The facts may be in dispute as we have no source of information other than the capitalist press. That a mass meeting of 1,270 members out of 3,200 "unanimously voted to stay in the CIO" was reported as a fact and to the best of our knowledge remains one. What is the authority for Comrade Rose's "subsequent reports".... "that the Peterborough local was 'about evenly divided'!" And if the results of the certification applied for by the IUE, which will be known in a few weeks, prove that the local is "about evenly divided", does this make Comrade LaPlante's report one made in "eagerness" and "erroneously" — with implied intent to deceive?

The document with mock indignation asks Comrade Dowson — "Why was it 'dishonest' and 'unprincipled' to oppose the expulsion of the UE and to support its efforts to remain in the CCL as contained in the above motion?" — a motion passed by the Toronto branch.

Unfortunately we do not have a tape recorder, but anyone in the Toronto branch knows there is not a speck of truth in this claim that Dowson called opposition to the UE expulsion "dishonest" and. "unprincipled." The simple facts which everyone understood were — Dowson asked the chair to rule the motion out of order because in the first place it was dishonest, as everyone was opposed to the UE expulsion, and in the second place it was unprincipled because it did not express the differences put forth in the discussion at the meeting but on the contrary actually covered them over. On this basis the chair ruled the motion out of order but its ruling was not upheld.

By a twister Comrade Rose transposes the characterization of the motion as dishonest in intention to appear to be support of the expulsion of the UE by the Mosher-Conroy machine.

And what was the blackout that the terrible Dowson imposed “on the question of the UE in refusing to allow the printing of an article in the paper on this question.” The “an” article that Comrade Rose wanted to have printed was one that would completely “repudiate” the LaPlante article, labeling the IUE a “cannibal union” and a “dual union.”

Since due to circumstances beyond our control there is no P.C. in the Canadian party and only one N.C. member resident at the National Office, Dowson, in tacit agreement with the other attendant at the editorial board, “ruled” that since there was disagreement of such a fundamental character on the last article, it would be best in the interest of the party that we publish no further material on the UE until we manage to reach some understanding through the National Committee. This is the “blackout” Dowson “imposed.”

We still find it hard to understand why all the hurry, rush and bustle has been shown, why the crisis atmosphere has been generated around this question. It is hard to understand why the authors felt it necessary to send the preceding document full of its distortions and half-truths poste-haste to the party branches, by-passing the party internal bulletin and the National Committee which would be responsible for any change in policy if such is to be made, and only turning it over to the Toronto branch and the N.O. weeks after it had been sent elsewhere.

The reason has been given — to change party policy for the next issue of the paper (the editor saw the article for the first time Jan. 3rd.) The normal process would be, if this is the desire, to place the document in the hands of the N.O. for immediate circulation among N.C. members — the party’s ruling body between conventions.

We also find it hard to understand the crisis atmosphere that has been generated in view of the fact that the RWP is no factor in the UE which can even have the slightest hope “to consciously intercede in the historical process in order to shape the course of this development.” The party has only one member in the UE.

Comrades Rose and Andrews want to change the party policy, to repudiate the November article, to label the IUE cannibal and a dual union. According to their statement, in the US the IUE is neither cannibal nor dual but is to “be supported” and the general line of our American comrades is correct. Why? Because in their own words the UE bolted the CIO without a fight, giving the CIO bureaucracy legal justification for expulsion and the launching of the IUE.

The authors hope to cut the ground from beneath their opponents by copywriting the phrase “legalistic reasoning” and flinging it at their opposition. But if their reasoning is not a startling example of legalistic thinking there never was one. According to their stand our position on the dispute around the expulsion of the UE and the fight for democratic rights for minorities which it entails, is to be determined on no other basis than whether the forces most directly involved put up a struggle in their own defence. If they do not the Trotskyists are not at all concerned in fighting their expulsion. A lofty principle for our movement to follow!

Implicit in this line of reasoning is the idea that our American comrades supported or think justified the expulsion of the UE from the CIO. This is not the truth at all. Unlike the authors of the preceding article, we think there is a principle involved in the UE expulsion, regardless of the

conduct of the Stalinist UE leadership, and the so-called legal justification of the bureaucrats. The bolting of the Stalinists has no weight in our mind whatsoever. The expulsion of the UE saw put through with it the first constitutional provisions in CIO history to fix discriminatory political qualifications and limitations on CIO members and unions.

It is not even correct to say that the UE left the CIO without a fight. It is true that they bolted the Cleveland convention without a fight — a crime for which we have exposed them to all of those who believe in the fight for trade union democracy. But the Cleveland convention only brought to a finish a long drawn out, bitter fight between the Stalinist and Murray machines that has been going on since the end of Wall Street's honeymoon with the Kremlin. They bolted the convention but they were kicked out of the CIO by the trade union bureaucracy.

The expulsion has taken place all our efforts notwithstanding. The UE is outside of the mainstream of the American labor movement, therefore it would be folly for us to go out with them — this is the sum and substance of the position adopted by the American comrades which we too think is correct. As we will see the same situation exists in Canada and calls for the same general position. The Canadian situation may be complicated by other minor factors but it is basically the same.

If the conduct of those about to die is the determining factor as to whether or not we defend the principles which are involved in their death then what about the stand taken by Labor Challenge on the CSU (Canadian Seamen's Union —ed.). It is only two months ago that Labor Challenge in an article from the pen of the author of the debated UE article, on the question of the expulsion of the CSU from the TLC-AFL, called upon the delegates to stand by the CSU regardless of the conduct of its Stalinist leadership. You will recall that the Stalinists pulled out without a battle here as they did at Cleveland. If the role of the Stalinists, whether they fight or retire, is to be our guiding principle, as the document incorrectly claims is the guiding principle followed by the Militant in the case of the UE, then Labor Challenge was wrong, criminally wrong in its two-line head, front page article in defence of the CSU. Nothing was heard from either comrade on this occasion.

Their first principle, that the Stalinists are putting up a fight and this requires us to label the IUE cannibal and dual to the UE, is propped up with the argument that that the UE is still affiliated to the CCL — "the CCL bureaucracy introduced the IUE in a putchist cannibalistic manner without the legal justification which might have been afforded by a UE walkout." This too is the "crudest kind of legalistic reasoning". It is necessary for us to see ahead and to estimate the present and future relationship of forces. There is no element of fatalism or resignation to the present alignment of forces in this. The UE in Canada is not just suspended, with large sympathy in other sections of Canadian labor, and in a possible position to fight for reinstatement. It is in essence expelled.

As reported in the Laplante article, the bureaucratic suspension of the five top Canadian UE leaders was upheld last fall by the CIO-CCL convention. On December 5th the CCL executive suspended the UE and at the same time went much further by giving official recognition to the IUE. A day or so after the LaPlante article went to press, on Nov. 11, the Ontario Federation of

Labor (CCL-CIO) suspended all but two locals of the UE for non-payment of dues. According to the secretary of the OFL all UE locals had been notified of their arrears and made no effort to bring themselves into good standing.

Wait a moment! — this sounds like legal justification for expulsion.

The CCL executive suspended the UE for non-payment of dues. It is a small matter to pay dues — perhaps we should consider this a sign of not putting up a fight, of walking out — and therefore call the suspension legally justified. Perhaps we should seriously weigh this fact against the EU's fight of distributing leaflets to some steelworker's locals. Perhaps if we apply "our" principle with a really delicate sensitivity we will be called upon to support the two Ontario locals who paid up their dues. But the rest which could have paid up their dues — they bolted the CCL — so to hell with them.

The Canadian UE has been expelled from the CIO. It has been suspended by the top leadership of the CCL. UE delegates have been booted out of all (to the best of our knowledge) CCL-CIO labor councils. The IUE received open support from the top CCL—CIO bureaucrats and dozens of secondary leaders from the moment of the Cleveland expulsion. It has now been officially granted affiliation.

Is the UE out of the mainstream of the Canadian labor movement? Of course it is. Do we have to wait for a convention a year from now to appreciate the relationship of forces, to get the word? Ridiculous!

The UE is now out of the mainstream of the labor movement, convention or no convention. We may not like its suspension, which along with that of the Mine Mill and CSU has set dangerous precedents and weakened the entire labor movement. But this suspension is a fact and the IUE too is a concrete reality. It is already in the Leyland plant at Guelph, the Cobourg GE plant and it is now applying for certification at the Peterborough GE plant.

The organizational loyalties of the workers, revulsion to the class collaborationist policy followed by the IUE as in Peterborough where it has gained the endorsement of the Catholic Church, illusions about the Stalinists who are being made to look like martyrs by the CCL leadership — all these and other factors may prolong the struggle between the IUE and the UE and it is possible that in some cases the UE will retain the loyalty of the majority of workers for an extensive period. Our UE comrades must be given latitude to maneuver on the basis of the exact situation confronting them, but our general policy must be based on the recognition of the fact that the UE is now outside the mainstream of the labor movement. We are not going to commit ourselves in such a way as to be forced out along with the Stalinist leadership outside the mainstream of the labor movement.

We go into the IUE not as volunteers but as conscripts, just as we go into the capitalist army — in order to remain with the masses and struggle for their confidence and leadership — against the trade union bureaucracy.

January 4, 1950

January 11, 1950

(J-M Redan)

moving

Barry Brent
Ken Sutherland?

Kit?
Jim Mitchell?

Dear Greenier and Fitz;

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Here is the last word from Comrade Rose. Quite a bombshell ... that is from what Barry and Ken reported as their impression of their discussion on Sunday night with Kit and Jim. There Kit and Jim even expressed some disagreements with Joe and there was no inkling that they were even contemplating withdrawing from the party.

Shortly after last night branch meeting opened, right after the reading of the interim report letter Jim rose to read this...then they got up and left. I tried to ask them what they meant by suspending themselves but it was obvious they did not know. Joyce just said they had made up their mind and were not answering any questions, Jim and Kit seemed very confused and embarrassed but of course this is ~~XX~~ not in keeping with this monstrous letter. *Really a miserable crew.*

It appears to me that they are going to try to set up some kind of group, probably through a study class of some kind. I am sure that it won't be long for this world. They themselves don't understand what their relationship is to be. Prior to their presenting this letter a letter was read from Buffalo re the sending up of a comrade for a meetings on China. We will have to put up four....Joyce said she would put up two if there was no alternative place. Just before the meeting Kit phoned the office and asked me for the address of a Stalinist girl, on Sunday night she phoned me up for the address of another Stalinist youth.

What do you think should be done with regards to their case? I am inclined to believe that they should be informed that their self imposed suspension is not at all satisfactory to the party and that they must immediately return to the branch and work within it ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ as best they can until the convention. Failing this I think they should be expelled.

The enclosure is the only copy I have. I don't know how you intend to handle your report but it seems to me that you should draw up one explaining the appointment and purpose and powers of the commission, a short sketch summary of the hearing and an answer to this letter.. You could ask Ken or Barry or both to draw up the case for the education of the party. We could publish it all in one internal bulletin for the education of the party. I think most of the education has been with one or two comrades and the party as a whole has little to learn however. I think it should be done as who knows what may happen with these comrades---personally I believe they will just disappear but who knows. It will be ~~XXXXXXXX~~ necessary to give the comrades in the West some of the inside information.

Will write later about Windsor, Montreal and a letter and proposition we have received from Enlgand.

[Signature]
comradely

Joyce Donson, wife of Joe Rosenthal

January 20, 1950 ✓

Dear Jean;

(M. Bédard)

Sorry to be so long in taking up your correspondence but we are only now clearing up after the elections and the last issue of the paper.

First; thanks for the article for the paper. A very welcome contribution. I don't believe I made any changes in it. There was one place where I was strongly tempted --- it's open to misunderstanding but then again it may be your confirmed opinion...here it is;

"The trade union movement--the genuine trade union movement, i.e., the AFL-TLC and the CIO-COL unions--are also a threat to the influence and control of the Catholic Church on the French Canadian masses."

Of course the Syndicates are under the influence of the Catholic hierarchy and in this sense are not a "threat to the influence and control of the Catholic church". Although it would seem to me from most recent developments that they are slipping out from under the Church domination and forcing the Church to ~~change~~ going along with the workers in some of their demands. ~~THE ABOVE FORMULATION PUTS THE SYNDICATES OUTSIDE THE RANKS OF GENUINE TRADE UNIONISM~~ The above formulation puts the syndicates outside the ranks of genuine trade unionism. I am not so sure that we should do so particularly in view of recent developments. You mention that you and Murray are considering writing a solid article on the Church and Catholic Action organizations in Quebec. It would be a real contribution to the paper and the education of our own comrades also. It would seem to me that we could also well afford one solid article on the Syndicates. I am inclined to believe that the above formulation was not a very happy one....that we should not label the Syndicates as not being genuine trade unions. What do you think?

But before I get into your last letter I want to run over the others and take up any points that you raise;

Received

Marxian Handbook
Biology and Marxism
My Days with Lenin

and allowed with your approval 3.25
2.50
.75

So here is the account as it now stands according to me---

| | | |
|--------------|-------------|------------------|
| | February 16 | 44.90 |
| Less returns | April 25 | 22.55 |
| " | August 28 | 5.25 |
| " | Oct 19 | 1.50 |
| " | Nov 1 | 1.85 |
| " | Nov 2 | 1.15 |
| " | Jan 2 | 6.50 |
| | | 7.10 outstanding |

I gather that you received the Quatrieme Internationales alright, together with a pretty complete batch of clippings on the election work. It was an oversight on my part that you missed that bulletin on the Yugoslav question. I gather you have them all now---nothing else has come in since Germain's

Germain - Ernest Mandel

through

Has anything else come of your attempts to work ~~with~~ the Yugoslav consulate?

We so far have been unable to work the Yugoslav developments at all. The consulate did not answer us. The stalinists have been holding no meetings that we could cover. We were all set to handle the Russian Revolution meeting of Buck's at Massey Hall but the police stopped us on the basis that we had no permit. Since then there have been no meetings. But rather than let the IS statement on Yugoslavia (an excellent document) go to waste, when the comrades distributed the ~~manifesto~~ election manifest in the solidly stalinist areas they also slipped in that issue of the paper. I see that the Stalinists are holding a monster birthday rally for Joe Buck at Massey Hall in a few weeks and we will try to cover this one.

Barry has been trying to work on the Student Christian movement at the university to hold a debate with invitations going out to the consulate, myself and tim Buck to speak on Yugoslavia but we are still in the process. He met a girl who attended the Stalinist youth rally last summer in Prague I think it was who tells an interesting story of the disappearance of some Yugoslav youth delegates. This girl is quite active in the Student Christian movement and we may be able to do something there.

Have you had any discussions on the Yugoslav question since the latest rash of bulletins. We have had two so far in the branch. I was very much impressed with Germain's document and tend to agree with his position. I do not feel that there is any particular need for us to take a definite stand on this question yet. Quite a complex question with many vital implications in it. This is the way I have tried to handle it in the Toronto branch...although a couple of comrades have taken very firm stands--- Joe who fancies himself as a bit of a theoretician ~~has~~ committed himself in the branch meeting two weeks ago to Pablo's position, last week for ten minutes put it forward again AND FOR 25 minutes later took Cochrane's position. He has no understanding of Germain's position at all. Ken takes Pablo's. Barry takes Germain's. None of the other comrades said anything other than ask questions...we will be having more discussions.

Havent heard anything from any of the other branches.

Incidentally I am curious to know what you thought of the discussion document on the UE. As you know Joe sent his document to every address he could get and asked for ~~replies~~ replies. To the best of my knowledge he received only one reply---one from Windsor, which really blasted hell out of him. My answer is pretty much of a bang off job but I wanted to rush it out in order to counteract Joe's incredible distortions.

We have just received the vote breakdown today. When we have had time to go over them we will write up something for the internal bulletin. Actually there is not a hell of a lot to say more than what was said in the last issue of Labor Challenge. Not many contacts were turned up but this was to be expected from the general period in which we are working ~~in~~. On the whole quite an achievement for our small forces..more later.

Whatever arrangements you make with Quatrieme Internationale and La Verite ~~is~~ are fine with us ...we will send everything on to you as we have been ---including the bill. We will only keep one copy of each

I am inclined to agree with your sketchy outline of Montreal perspectives. I am inclined to doubt our ability to work on a broad basis, on a "front" basis without having previously built a cadre. The English literature that is ~~available~~ available including Labor Challenge, and the French literature available including La Verite should be sufficient for us to get along with for quite a bit of this necessary spade work. My impression is that we have plenty of contacts that we can do some patient work ~~XXXX~~ on.

A monthly contribution to Labor Challenge will be a real asset to the paper. It will help us to make greater use of it in French Canada ~~XXX~~ at the same time ease the pressure on myself and Barry who are responsible for almost every line that goes into it and also give the party the benefit of your and Murray's political experience.

Perhaps you will not have time to work up the article on the Church and Catholic Action for the next issue. The dead-line will be February 6th. Did you ever drop around at Jehovah's Witnesses or some of the anti-clerical groups for data on the Church and its influence in Canadian economy. Do you have copies of the series of articles that Art Preiss wrote in the Militant on the Church as a world institution? We have them here on file and will send them on loan if you have need of them. I am inclined to believe that it would be worthwhile to make a condensation of the Preiss articles for one issue and then one off the Church here in Canada for the following issue.

The other day we received a suggestion from a red-hot CCF leader contact that we have in Trail B.C. He is on the B.C. provincial council and secretary of his riding association. He suggests that it would be a good idea for us to write a series of articles on the history and development of our movement. Sometime ago Murray and I were talking about this idea--I am inclined to believe that it would be a very worthwhile project. We could run it as a series of about 6 articles. You might ask Murray what he thinks of writing such a series. Perhaps it would be too big a job for a comrade who works and I should take it on--however have a talk with him on it, will you.

Will be sending a lengthy N.C. letter in the next day or so.

By the way Murray is the only person as far as I can remember who ~~XXXXXX~~ has told me what he thinks of the proposal to drop the hammer and ~~XXXX~~ sickle. He also proposes that we might take of the official organ of the RWP at the same time. Let me know what you think

off

Dead line February 6

comradely

Ross

January 23, 1950 ✓
87 King Street West, Room 5
Toronto 1, Ont.

Windsor Branch
Dear Comrades

Congratulations on the class. Small but really a big beginning. Why now we can really talk about a Windsor branch.

The only thing that surprises me is the topic as outlined in the notice that you sent out. When I first read it I automatically thought that this was the syllabus for the whole series of classes; Unemployment and the Coming Depression; The Fight Against War; Red Baiting and Union Democracy. But I gather from Hugh's letter on the first class that this was the topic of discussion at this first class and the rest of the class topics is undecided.

I gather that the first class was a real success however I am sure that it was not even the success that it could have been if you had not tried to bite off so much. Anyone picking up the notice would have been appalled by the breadth and scope of the topic or would have thought as I did that it was a complete syllabus. The first class despite a really masterful presentation by the comrade who gave it could not help but have been confusing, could not help but have assumed all kinds of things which we have not right to assume as being known by the contacts.

I don't think that any harm is done because we were able to hold the first meeting. We know now who is pretty sure to come aside from those who may come to future classes. We had a discussion with this core and were no doubt able to estimate what they think is important to discuss. Well we want to discuss not just what we consider important but what they want to discuss and know about us. Probably from that first meeting you all have a good idea what the future classes should deal with in order to meet the needs of the core of the class and to bring it closer to us.

I am sorry to be a little late with this note but I think you should immediately get together and thrash out a plan for the future classes if you haven't done so already. Then we can come down to these fellows and make our suggestions. The odds are that when we three all agree as to what we want to give to these contacts that they will agree to want to have the class the way we want it. I see that you agreed to discuss the CCF at the next meeting. Then are you planning to discuss the LPP at the next one and then a group of say two or three classes on the RWP? That might be a good idea. Hugh reports that Napier want to make it into a trade union caucus. Well you might take up this proposal in this way---have the series of classes deal with a program for the trade unions today. This would give you a chance to put forward the sliding scale of hours, Stalinism and red-baiting, the struggle against the trade union bureaucracy (the latter part could be based on the old mass Trade Unions in the Imperialist Epoch of Decay) I seem to recall suggesting to Don that we could well hold a series of classes on Red baiting and Stalinism which could be a lead off for an explanation to these fellows of what Stalinism is, its roots etc. This would seem to me to be a good class as I gather it is a big issue with some of the fellows around us. I think we should definitely steer away from formal classes on more abstract marxist theory. From what I know of the character of our contacts they are activists and are not probably the type to be interested in ideas which are not obviously immediately applicable. We should give them our theory in a highly interpretative way. Like Marxist economic theory from the point of view of exposing fraudulent trade union policies and sustaining ours, exposing Stalinist and CCF politics and sustaining ours etc.

But let us decide what we want of the class with our superior knowledge and our desire to lead the class to the building of the party. Let us line up the class, then come to the class with the proposals which I am sure if they are intelligently thought out and we press, will be readily accepted. And let's not try to cover too big a field, assume too much. From what I know of the persons we will pick up at their present development the most are just trade union militants, syndicalists, who are terribly confused when it comes to politics and more complex problems.

Glad to see that you were able to cover the Lenin Memorial meeting. I don't doubt that you are really having some effect on them, particularly when you are known to a considerable section of the audience. The questions are excellent, particularly the one on Lenin's Third International. The other is also very good but great care in presrning it has to be taken...I think you have to present it along the line that the Lenin quote is true, capitalism and the USSR can't live side by side and Wall Street preparations are proof of this if any more were needed after the intervention and by your hiding this denying this, you are imperilling the defence of the USSR and are making the assault the more easy for Wall Street—in this way we can get around Ryerson's attempt to make us appear to be war mongers. How would one of you like to write up a letter to the editor on the meeting. I think it would make a very good one—playing up your questions and the answer and anything else you may think of importance.

Sorry to hear that two ~~AMONGST~~ of you are out of work still. Hope you are not finig it too difficult to make out with meals and board. There are an estimated 27, 000 out of work here, big lin-ups at Massey's every morning. Sonia is still out of work and there are supposed to be openings for women. Don mentions that he may be laid off and the peak is yet to come. Seasonal layoff peak hits here in February and March. I don't imagine it would make much difference in Windsor but in Toronto with its diversified industry, a lot of it luxury and trade goods, there will no doubt be quite a rise in unemployment. I am going to suggest that the Toronto branch pay out the ten dollars you borrowed as part of the election expenses if it is all right with you.

I gather you decided not to cover the CCF Renthier meeting with the paper. I suppose you noticed that there is a very timely Cameron article in the last issue. Are there going to be any more CCF meetings in the near future. It would be good if we can really get this last issue around the CCF. Can we get a mailing list, if only a partial one from Morris or his brother in law.

Hope you got the list of Windsor readers alright.

Received the letter on the so-called UE dispute. As off two weeks ago Joe had received no replis from the rest of the letters. I gather from a discussion that follow an executive meeting that Joe wrote you a reply. Havent lined up the next internal bulletin as yet but we are preparing to write a document on the CCF for a bulletin to go out right after the next issue of the paper. Joe has been promising something on the CCF for a long time and Montreal something on French Canada. We will publish it in the next bulletin.

The dead-line for the next issue of the paper is February 6th. This gives you good time to see if there is anything you can shape up. If there is any important local news of national significance we are very anxious to get it. If there is not how about that work you have been doing on Hansard. We need an article from Windsor and there is plenty of material there for a good one. ~~It could be on the CCF M.P.'s~~ It could take one of many angles. It could be an exposure of the class collaborationist line of the CCF M.P.'s in the last house in a rounded sense, it could be on their support of the war, their ignorance of the cause of depressions and their failure to advance a pricatical program and as a matter of fact it could be on the bourgeois parliament itself, or the Tories and Liberals and the needs of the people. It could be on any important question

Right now the Toronto branch is working on contacts. We are preparing to cover a pile of expirations that are coming up and are in the process of making calls at the homes of the few contacts that were turned up during the campaign. Spent a couple of profitable evenings visiting contacts with John and Ed last week. Sold a couple of subs and some pamphlets.

Have you had any discussions in the branch on the Yugoslav question. I would be very much interested to know what your opinions are on the question. I hope you received the Germain document and had a chance to give it a ~~XXXXXXXX~~ thorough going over.

comradely

Ross

February 2, 1950 ✓

Lenora, SWP, New York

Dear Ruth

I suppose you have been waiting till I make the next move. Well it is only in the last two weeks that we have been really getting around to clearing up the mess that accumulated during the election and while we were putting out the January issue.

Well despite all your wishes we did not win. Terrible disappointment. I had a cushy job up here all picked up for you but I guess I won't give you any of the details as it would only make you feel bad.

Well now no one can make light of our vote...15,600 with another bourgeois candidate. Must admit it is not quite as high as I thought it would be when on New Years day we heard that the poll was going to be a whopper. I thought on this basis that we would make last years vote. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The labor movement is apathetic, and with the federal CCF election defeat the political element is demoralized but this demoralization I thought would most probably take the form of absence from the polls. On the basis of last years analysis we knew that there was actually very little ~~KKK~~ grudge content in that 23,000, I thought possibly 4,000. Of course that vote followed a real CCF upsurge the sweeping provincial victory. Possibly a lot of that CCF vote was of a relatively low consciousness and has ebbed back into liberalism. But any way no one can make little of ~~XXXX~~ the vote polled this year....we are certainly known for what we are after four campaigns.

There is considerable figuring we want to do on the returns. We have started but I am doubtful just how successful we are going to be for you know what the city fathers did--they completely revised all the polling zones, there is scarcely any that are the same as last year.

Re- layout discussion. Now don't tell me about that measly little head on the election results. Barry worked on the heads and as soon as I saw it I knew it was not near strong enough...it should have been two lines in that type anyway. However there were several other changes that had to be made on Ludlow because the written heads did not fit and I did not have the nerve to ask him to change that last. Then again that little jump over into another column on that Alberta CCF article on page one....I am against that also but Jimmy at Merchants slapped it into the third column without saying anything the night before and I only saw it when I came to read page proof and nothing then could be done with it without practically remaking the page. And they were waiting so---o---o---o. On the whole I think you are doing a pretty good job on us, whipping us into shape---of course I have to admit that you have good pupils.

Picked up your excellent idea of devising a form letter to be sent to those new B.C. CCF readers of ours. An excellent idea. Joyce typed them up separate so that they looked like individual letters but unfortunately we only received two replies. One from that old man who new Marx's son-in-law--a stalinist, and another from an old timer which did not contain anything much...the rest did not reply. probably afraid. We are in correspondence with that A. Burton of Trail. He is an excellent type. --a member of the provincial council, secy of the Trail-Rossland club, secy of his local of civic employees...looks upon himself as a revolutionist. sent us two dollars for the drive and asked us for some sub blanks. When I first raised the idea of him working with us in the CCF his reaction was bad but he now appears to be much closer to us. The sad part of it all is that he is miles from anyone else.

How did we get Woodsworth House....by just going and renting it. I hear that subsequently there was a stink about it in the CCF. A good move but it did not bring any immediate results---not much community life in the Woodsworth House

How did you like the UE bulletin—I did send it to you didn't I or did it get to the NY office. I did not have time to do a real job as I wanted to get out a reply to Joe's crap as soon as possible...you see he had sent it out to the branches two weeks at least previously. KK

For sometime Joe has been trying to make out that the differences are political—in truth they are in so far as his line has taken him onto a course which more and more involves attacking some of our basic concepts. This is of course fine as it is impossible in a political party to carry on such a personal fight. The UE document they presented as their political difference. Unfortunately it is so completely unpolitical that it boomeranged on them...it has done them much discredit. So now they have switched back to the personal—first things first they (Ken and Joe) say...there is bureaucracy in the party—that means me. And it has to go. Ken when in Montreal proposed to Murray that he come to Toronto I gather to take over the paper and the N.O. But by god I am not going to give up this plush job and this security without a fight...I am not going to desert my machine. It's really funny isn't it—bureaucracy in the Canadian party. They are not making any headway anymore—they are losing ground now—why must be the big question in their mind—-it must be bureaucracy.

Ed tells us that they have prepared a bombshell—a document on the bureaucracy. That is mainly me and now Barry who is working full time now in the party (I raised my wage to \$25 a week, Barry pays no board I do, we deduct that from the 25 and then split the difference) Ed tells me that it contains all kinds of things that I said and am supposed to have said in the past two years. It quotes things that Ed has said at various times about me. Ed is terribly upset and wants to know what we can do to stop such a document going into the internal bulletin.

Actually the situation is now improving. We have taken a lot but for some time Joe was able to make some impression on some of the newer and inexperienced comrades. So we had to wait it out. Every talk he gives he is more and more exposing himself. Yes we have had two discussions on Yugoslavia. Barry gave one—he upholds Germain. Joe asked to give another...he said he takes Pablo's position—The next week we heard a talk. 10 minutes he put forward ~~KEENE~~ Pablo's, then ten minutes he put forward Cochrane's and then for ten minutes he gave his interpretation of Germain's and what an interpretation. Last week he gave a talk on democracy in the trade unions was the head. According to him democracy is just a sop handed to us by capitalist reaction. In the process he made the amazing statement that there would be no democracy in a trade union even if the leadership were Trotskyist—there can only be democracy under a workers state—he did not say anything about that workers state in Russia and the regime.

Last night an American comrade—a very able one who is here on trade union work went up to see him to see if he could stop him in his mad course. . At anyrate everything is much better than it was two and three months ago. They are losing ground and losing face. What will come of it all—I don't know

I guess the enclosed letter will give you an idea of what is going on....Windsor is unemployed two out of our three.

The gang are all well and all send their regards

The twenty is for Europe. Have been reading your column. Excellent but many of them don't reach the heights of our collaboration. Don't work too hard. Lots more is going on but I will just get this letter polished off before the branch meeting tonight.

warmest regards

Ross

February 21, 1950

Windsor

Dear Comrades;

Sent your leaflet off in the mail ~~the~~last night. Sorry to be so late in sending it out but it never entered into my mind that you wanted us to mimeograph it for you until Saturday night. The draft came in the mail along with a batch of clippings and the rough draft with no attached note saying anything about how many copies etc. I guess it was not until Saturday night that it suddenly struck me that you meant us to run it off...I must have remembered that two letters ago you had suggested you might have to ask us to do so. When we received it I must have thought at the time that you were sending us this prior to sending us the final job and telling us how you made out.

I hope it meets your specifications. I put it on foolscap as mimeograph on two sides is never very good. To do this we had to run a couple of your paragraphs together. Sorry about the drawing and top lettering. If it hadn't been left so late I would have asked Joe to do the job. I think there was only one change of any importance. I added the address (our box number) as I figure that we hope someone will try to look us up. I also changed the last paragraph. You say after advancing demands for a shorter work week and expenditure of war appropriations for public works that "if we fight together and win these demands we can stop the depression in its tracks...." if we fail, we will see a depression more devastating than the last one? Of course nothing is going to stop the depression but the socialist revolution. All the struggle for these demands can do is commence the fight to prevent the main burden of the depression that flows from the system from falling onto our shoulders and galvanizing the masses into struggle which leads towards the seizure of power. Otherwise I thought the leaflet was quite good.

Hugh raises the question in a letter of sometime back when you were first discussing the idea of a leaflet "whether it is timely." I gather you had some discussion on the advisability of preparing and distributing such a leaflet, what profit there would be in it for us and its political implications. Well I am not sure just what to say. I don't think there is anything sectarian about it, that there can be any political ~~XXXXX~~ dispute on the matter. But there is a question that might be well asked in view of the special efforts involved in getting such a leaflet out and certain risks that exist in Windsor in carrying out its distribution—what is there at this time that can be gained from it? Certainly unemployment is the big issue now but to my knowledge there are no real forces in Windsor or anywhere else in Canada that are looking for a concrete answer which we can give them and thus launch them onto a more correct road of militant struggle. What is the situation in Windsor that is so special, what does a leaflet say that the January issue of Labor Challenge or the February issue does not say. Why could we not distribute copies of the paper and do just as an effective job as the leaflet. The leaflet is of a general propaganda character and it is very good. However we are a very small group with a particular program of our own to put across and we are addressing it to no particular situation. Then there is the matter of the law—I gather from a few remarks that it is possible that we might get picked up for the distribution. As you know we are not in any position yet to carry a civil rights case in Windsor. But that would not even stop revolutionists if there was an important issue which we thought requiring our intervention? ~~XXXXXXXX~~ But the distribution might be very valuable from another point of view. Perhaps you intend to sue the distribution to bring some of the persons who have attended your class closer to the party...to show them that there is something to be done besides talk and listen. If this was your plan it could well cancel out any of the previous objections. It has value only from the point of view of bringing the name and existence of the party to the attention of many workers.

I raise these points because I think they are some of the points that should be

considered in making decisions of the sort that you made. Sometimes in a party in a period like we are living in today it is a good idea to carry an action of this sort out not from what you think you might gain from the actual propaganda in the leaflet but to stop your own forces from getting rusty waiting for the day. I gather that we haven't much today (although I see that Don is now working) and it is sometimes a good idea to just keep a little busy, to stop reading and discussing all the time and carry out a little action. Who knows what may come out of it.

At anyrate I think that the leaflet is very good and anytime you have anymore you want to run off don't hesitate to send in the material and if you haven't the time just tell us what you want and we will work up the material—we want to turn out stuff like this for the use of the branches and we intend to build up the machine that can do it.

We recieved a letter from Don the other day on the article that appeared in the last issue of Labor Challenge dealing with the announcement of the organization of the unemployed by the CCL. Probably you have talked the whole question over with one another so I will say a few words about Don's view point to all. First a few words on the article—Murray wrote it and I am not at all sure that the material that Don mentions was published in the Windsor Star, (the official stated policy of the new body with its talk about preventing the unemployed from "becoming a mob" etc) was available to him. I saw no such statement in the Toronto press and there has been considerable material for as you know the proposal went forward to the CCL from Toronto Council. However even this is in my opinion not pertinent to the line that had to be followed by our press and should be followed by our comrades in the unions. "e have been banging away with this line organization of the unemployed by the trade unions now ~~XXX~~ ever since the transitional program was written every time unemployment reared its head anywhere. Here we have the main body of organized labor in this country taking up this slogan and going about to carry it out in action. And what do you want us to do? You say "Labor Challenge~~XXXXXXXX~~ has passed up a wonderful chance to expose the CCL bureaucrats as agents of the bosses who in this period carry out their tasks by misleading the organizational strivings of the unemployed into non-class struggle channels." The big thing is that they are now going to go about organizing the unemployed in the trade union movement. They have picked up our key slogan on the unemployed question for this period. And what do you want us to do—Blast them as agents of the bosses. How can you say that they are misleading the organizational strivings of the unemployed into non-class struggle channels when they are tying the unemployed to the trade unions, when they are picking up our program. The fact of the matter is that the trade union bureaucracy is, far from misleading the organizational strivings of the unemployed, leading them into the correct channels on the number one point; tying them to the organized labor movement. What their motives are at this given moment is not the important thing...we want to give them every aid, we want to push them along this path that they have said they are setting out on with every force at our disposal because this path is the correct one. At this moment they are giving the lead to the unemployed and we would be fools to try and deny this. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ We have to go along with them...my every time they hesitate, every time they stall then we give them the boot, we expose them.

Of course they have barred fascists and members of communist organizations from the unemployed union, of course many of the bureaucrats supported the idea to possibly prevent the Stalinists and others from organizing the unemployed and of course they are going to attempt to keep this organization under their domination and restrain it from advancing along class struggle lines. But the big thing is that they are going to unleash mighty forces through the organization of the unemployed by the unions—forces that they are not going to be able to dominate forces that they are not going to be able to restrain from class struggles methods. They are now at this time giving leadership. They will get the full support of every militant for this. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and we are compelled to give them all out support in this action. Why militants would laugh their heads off if we took this occasion when the ECL leadership is picking up our program to attempt to prove them to be "agents of the bosses." Not only do we have to go along—WE JUMP IN WITH BOTH FEET. We push it further. don't ~~XXX~~ with this suggest for a moment that we should be absolutely non critical and go forward without dropping some doubts here and there about the leadership so that we are prep-

aring for the inevitable struggle against the bureaucracy, against the ~~the~~ class collabor-
 ationist line that they will attempt to impose but now the big thing is to hail this action
 and transform the words into deeds—organize the unemployed by the trade unions.

~~DISSENTING OPINION~~ I am sure that in thinking this whole matt-
 er over more calmly and patiently you will agree with the line in the article. I think that
 any other line would be really ultra-leftist. ~~DISSENTING OPINION~~ You request that I
 show your letter to comrades interested in the question. Barry and Ken have seen it and I
 am now sending it onto Murray and Jean. But if you really are convinced that the line of the
 paper is false I think it might be a good idea to write up something for the internal bull-
 etin or possibly for the letters to the editor column. We are having the column in the next
 issue of the paper. Personally I think you are very much in error.

The reports that you have been sending in on the class have been truly inspiring. They
 seem to me to be by far the most successful contact work that any section of the party is
 doing at this time. Five, three four and even two outsiders at the class is terrific. You
 know that forum after forum goes by here in Toronto with only two and three contacts. I am
 sure that many of the SWP branches have forum after forum with one or two and even no outsid-
 ers. Keep up the good work. It is good to see Hugh take on one of the classes, how about
 Don D taking on one ~~XXXX~~ You can give one another close help in preparing them and it is
 certainly a good experience. From what you say about the persons in attendance I am inclined
 to completely agree with the idea of having the next series on Marxian Economics. Too bad we
 can't get some of the CCFers and LPPers into our parlour however we must work on what we have
 and I can that such a class as you propose will very effectively meet their needs.

I am sending in the mail a copy of an SWP Marxist Economics course which we used once
 here in Toronto. We found that it was quite a fine course and even if you don't want to use
 it you will no doubt get some good ideas from it. I think that you have a copy in your
 library Don B. If you haven't keep this for the duration of the class and then return it- If
 you have a copy send it back as we have only one more in the library.

I see that there is one fellow that has attended all the classes and is very much in-
 terested in us. He offered money to help put out the unemployed leaflet. I hope you took it.
~~XXXXXX~~ Has he offered to distribute the leaflet with us—I hope you have asked him and
 everyone else at the class. Don talks about the possibility of recruiting him, which he
 rates high but goes on to say to what purpose. I gather you are of the opinion that he is n
 none too bright, you say he is an expboxer. So what. He isn't moronic is he. Why don't we
 recruit him, why don't we take him in. So what if he isn't too bright. Are we going to give
 everyone an IQ test before they can join in the struggle for socialism. Does he have a
 general understanding of what we want and how we propose to get it. Perhaps he isn't overly
 bright but would he be a danger to the party, would he shout his mouth off about things he
 doesn't understand would he endanger the party, its security, would he possibly place us in
 ridiculous positions. Or is it that he is a type of fellow that won't be much more than a
 good activist. Let us not be snobbish, exclusive, we are trying to build a party and if a
 worker is not too bright but wants to help in the struggle, will do the best that he can
~~XXXXXX~~ then he belongs in our party. ...and we should take him in. I see nothing wrong in
 taking in a person who comes around us for the good fellowship and is willing to give us a
 hand to the best of his ability. ~~XXXXXX~~ Let's talk this over. I think from what you say
 you should take him in. This can be the beginning of building the branch. Let's hear more
 about this. What doubts have you other than he is not too bright which I for one ruthlessly
 brush aside, dismiss, as no valid reason at all. I see that he is a Chrysler worker. I see
 you met him at a CCF meeting.

What happened with our radio script. Did we get it accepted. Unfortunately we cannot
 get CKLW here in the office on our radio so we were unable to check. The idea is of course
 an excellent one. ...and even if this one was rejected we should try again. I have gone over
 the script fairly carefully. I would have written you sooner but you marked on it that it
 was slated to go on Sunday so I knew that any suggestions I had would be too late. The
 script is a good effort but did you all go over it all carefully. You know we have to build
 a group leadership in Windsor. We haven't any Trotsky's amongst us yet and we have to lean on

one another. I think that the script is not very good in many ways. It would be well in my opinion if you ~~XXXX~~ took time out at the next meeting to go over it closely. It seems to me to be completely devoid of any class ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ struggle concepts. Its general line is that machines are the cause of unemployment, machines themselves and not machines run in the interest of profit and not for use. On page three third paragraph it states this incorrect line very bluntly—"The contradiction of producing more and more with less and less effort means unemployment"...top of page 6 "Since it is a fact that labor saving devices eventually mean unemployment, this puts ----" And of course it is not machines in themselves but the ownership of the machines by the capitalist class and their use for their class interests. The script makes mock of machine wrecking but after reading the above I almost began to ~~XXXXXX~~ think that perhaps Ludd was right. The first part is class collaborationist advancing the idea that it is also in the interests of the bosses to cut hours---that he will get greater productivity. On page 5 it says "To reduce the workers to robots or accessories to a machine will prove the undoing of the mass production technique." In other words you bosses if you were wise would also come out for the 30 hour week to solve the unemployment problem. Why dont the bosses support the drive for the shorter work week? Why have they opposed with all their might the struggle for the shorter work week...remember the Haymarket Massacre for the 48 hour week. What is ~~KKI~~ this opposition by the bosses all about, a worker would logically ask. The truth of the matter ~~XXXXXX~~ is that the shorter work week ^{it gets} ~~XX~~ shorter than 50 and 60 hours is not more profitable for the boss in greater productivity. Of course to a large extent it depends on the nature of the machine, the intensity of the labor. required in its operation. The bosses try to squeeze as much from each and every individual worker and machine as they can. Arent the workers today robots and accessories to the machine. The script makes quite a plea---pity the poor worker.

The second quote that you make from the UAW constitution is a real stinker and in direct contradiction to the first quote. I (who am neither a bigot or some mentally unbalanced person object to that) second quote. The first quote could be stretched to use as a lead to advance the sliding scale of hours but not the second. It accepts the anarchy of capitalism and the fate of wage labor under this system ..to be dismissed...and it accepts "the inevitable(?) industrial shifts which constitute progress.." ???????

The last paragraph on page 5 almost knocked me over...it blames the declassed unemployed workers for destroying the German working class movement...not Hitler, agent of the trusts who used them...and anyway the mass base of the fascist movement was in its bulk the petty bourgeois...not the declassed proletariat.

But I am going to stop in my criticism of the script. I know that you know all this. That this material, that the generally false line of the script flows from carelessness, lack of really rounded thought, in some cases just faulty construction, poor expression of our ideas. What it shows me is that you guys have got to work together, to critically help one another in what you do. Did you all read that over closely, critically, and say what you thought of it without any false fear of hurting the other persons false political pride. I think not. Let's do so in the future. Let's generate a cooperative, critical yet comradely relationship....a group leadership in Windsor. Let's try another script. We could probably do anvery good one on the fight for civil rights, or against the anti-labor laws.

Congratulations on our election as committee man with its top seniority, its prestige etc.

"Thanks for the very vivid pictures of what took place at the Reuther meeting. We may try to whip them up into a letter to the editor for the next issue of the paper.

You will no doubt be pleased to know that we have taken in two new members in Toronto in the past month ...there is lots more to tell but I am afraid that we will have to close off until a later date.

comradely

Ross Dowson

February 21, 1950

*M. Bidard, MKE
Dowson, MKE*

Dear Jean and Murray;

Thanks for the two articles for the last issue. As you will note we did not use the one--the other was published just as received I believe. What I mentioned I ~~would~~ like to add on to an article that you might write blossomed out into a fullscale analysis of the absurd position advanced by Salsberg and the Tribune. Since your article was of a very general character and since I think that the one on Salsberg is one of the most effective exposures of Stalinism that we have had a chance to write since their phoney position in the June Federal elections I dropped yours---OK?

Also received Walsh's contribution. What a laugh. The final break with ~~the~~ Stalinism on the Tito affair. So that was the last straw for Walsh eh---but not quite yet--- still pending...I thought we might publish his one page article as a letter to the editor. The information, if true, is very interesting. We are ~~planning~~ to have a letter to the editor column for the next issue. I hope he doesn't carry his "threat" through to write us two articles per month. Of course Labor Challenge has just been sitting around waiting for him all these days until he feels the urge

Sam hasn't got down to Montreal yet. I gather that every time he has been making preparations to go something else has cropped up. But he has assured us that as soon as he gets there he will contact Murray at his home.

I am enclosing a few pages for you to read. They are the first pages of the long awaited document on bureaucracy in the party. Finally this political struggle that Joe has been waging so intransigently for so long has come to a head with an attack on a bureaucratic tendency in the Canadian section--namely Ross Dowson. I have sent you this page and a half as I have typed it out on a stencil for the next bulletin. The document is another four pages, however there is nothing of importance in it. It is one of Joe's pedantic expositions of our traditional concepts on democratic centralism. He does not apply it to anything but uses the old trick of advancing ideas that are ABC in our movement with the intent of implying to all the readers that his opponents don't agree or understand these ABC's. You have the meat right there on the page and a half. There is only one other thing worthy of note. It is signed by Joe, Joyce and Sonia plus Ken. However I had quite a talk with Ken the other day and he has said that he is going to withdraw his name from it. ~~XXXXXX~~ I showed him what tripe it was and this together with some recent developments in the branch where Ken has strongly disagreed with Joe, and on one issue voiced this agreement in no uncertain terms, have caused him to make a break from Joe. He now rejects Joe's position on the CCF, he now has a CCF orientation. There was another long dispute on a Catholic labor school that Fell is supporting (reported in the last issue of L.C.) and the position that we should take on it. Ken rode into Joe's trade union opportunism. I urged Ken before removing his name to go up and explain his action to Joe. He first seemed to think that this would mean the end of Joe with the party. But he now thinks otherwise and if he has a real talk with Joe I think we can hold onto him. He thinks it will have a greater effect on Sonia.

At anyrate it now looks like we have cleared the whole question up in every one's mind, just what it has all been about. And the situation in the branch will, once more be inhabitable for Vern etc. I think we should go ahead and publish it despite the fact that never in the history of the Bolshevik movement has any such thing appeared in an internal party bulletin. ~~XXXXXX~~ I think I told you that Sam went up to see Joe on my request...I hoped that Joe would turn back. Sam said he had a very good talk with Joe, not about the document but one which obliquely but sharply attacked personal conflicts in the revolutionary movement. Joe did not offer to show him the document but

Rowan's Review

E4

1946-1953 WINDSOR

Feb 22/50

Windsor

Dear Hugh;

Just a few words. Received you note on what you figure you owe the party at this end. If you want to handle it it is of course ok with me. I was just propising that the branch meet some of the cost of your stay as you devoted so muchtime to party work and were unemployed. However suit yourself.

Not in favor of Don using party money until he gets his first pay. But I guess we must be realist. After all we cant kill the goose can we...he has to eat. Start collecting money off the comrades though just as soon as they can possibly meet their pledge. As you can see ~~XX~~ from the financial report we can put it to good use.

I do not think that it is at all necessary for either you or Don to answer Joe's letter. I saw it for the first time just last week. As a matter of fact in the light of another document ~~IX~~ that he has turned in it is not worhty of attention. This second document is a really vicious and stupid lsanderous attack against me and I am going to do a job on it. But even tis is more for the record than anything else. As a matter of fact things are going along much better now. Ken has broken off from Joe and all that remains are the Rosenthal trio. I dont think that this stupid feud that has caused so much personal antagonism and political disruption has much longer to live.

Will write later

Ross

March 1, 1950

Handed back, with
Dear Jean;

Enclosed you will find a letter that we received in today's mail. Possibly you did not see the last issue of the Canadian Tribune. There is a letter to the editor published in it which is an attempt to link us up again with Gladstone Murray. You will possibly remember that they did this 2 year ago. I don't mind the fact that I wouldn't know Gladstone Murray if I saw him but they have got me taking taxis with party funds and that is too much.

At any rate this letter that I am enclosing is obviously a reply to the one appearing in last week's Tribune. I would like you to check up on the person who sent it in just as soon as possible. Go around and see him, let him tell his story in detail, attempt to verify it etc.

My first reaction to the letter was one of scepticism. It seemed too nicely tailored. It does not have a lead which one would perhaps expect...you know... "I saw the story in the Tribune the other day and why Tim Buck should talk...why when I was a waiter at the Royal York..." The incident---well I would not doubt that it could well have taken place. Buck during the war and the Soviet friendship pact appeared at all kinds of bosses' banquets where he spread his message of class peace...we are all in this together...socialism is only a distant vision of a far away future...perhaps we won't even need it here in Canada. Buck would grab at any chance, Gladstone Murray...or like Stalin --Hitler himself.

There is one thing that we will have to check up on. You see the date----Dec 2, 1939. Weren't the police on the tail of Buck and company by that date? I know that the Clarion came out for sometime after the outbreak of war but I do not know when the CP was declared illegal and the hunt went out for Buck. We will have to check that closely for he might not even have been able to be there (in this case the letter is obviously a plant) Could you take a half an hour to check the daily press files over at the Standard office. The party must have been declared illegal sometime around then. It would be best to check this before going to see this Tom Larkin

If this thing is on the up and up to the best of our ability to check on it I want to publish it in the next issue. *Send me back the original as I am not taking time out to copy it.*
Dead line is March 5th.

I am making this the dead line but I am not too sure just how we will be able to keep it. Reg has informed us that the CCF provincial convention is taking place April 7, 8, 9. Young has given us the go-ahead to use all the inside dope of the National Council meeting and the provincial executive meeting and we are going to get more. This can be the most important issue we ever put out. We have here a real tapeline into the inner circles...Labor Challenge tells all...the stark shocking revolting truth...
...sounds like Hush doesn't it

But we have some real dope....how the sttoges of the ²Conwell gang in B.C. tried to steel the paper from the membership. Lewis's slanderous attacks on Cameron and coy at the National Council....the dispute on the inside over Lewis's demand that the B.C. paper and the M.P.P.'s endorse Steel's raid on Mine Mill in Trail and Kimberley.

How is Murray's article on the Catholic Church coming? Have him send it in on schedule, however it might possibly have to make room for some of the other stuff we are planning. Haven't laid out this coming issue as I was waiting to hear from Reg on the convention date. But send it in anyway.

We are laying plans to flood the B.C. section with this issue...we have lists of names that appeared in CCF NEWS financial drive. We ~~hit~~ over it once and got about twenty subs out of it....we will go over it again. Any CCF names you can dig up will you send on....we would like to cover everyone possible in the CCF or around it.

I dont know what more Reg has got...Young told him there were several resolutions damning the CCF leaders for their stand on the military appropriations...so we may have all kinds of stuff for this issue.

What have you got besides the Catholic Church...anything important. It may be worth our while to ~~surge~~ ^{include} this issue and put in an insert. However I will take this idea ~~up~~ ^{up} if it seems to be a good one.

Suprised that we havent heard anything on Joes document from you. Am going ahead puting it on stencils. Barry is writing a definitive reply. Ken has taken his name of all of Joes documents. Joe is going to town on a new comrade we got in. Ken tells us that they are talking about being expelled although there has been nothing but the usual relationship...they have already got this new comrade pumped full of crap and Ken says he has said if they get expelled he will go with them...amazing, Ne c'est pas!

Reg is in the midst of writing the requested analysis of the B.C. CCF situation. Really down at it this time and we should get it this week - end in all probability. Have you decided to say anything about the UE dispute? Joe's stuff is just all slanderous crap and it might be well if you wanted to to take it back into the field of politics. Let me hear from you as soon as possible on the above...all

comradely

Ross
Ross

*must have the document
by Monday at the latest
as we want to clear away
the bulletin for the paper*

Received the dough for the books alright. Will you phone this letter to Murray.

*See Walsh is at it again - Feb 13 Tribune - secretary
of the newly formed Council of Jobs in Quebec City
also secretary of the Canadian Friends of Irish
Freedom (arranging a big meeting) Still waiting for the
break on the Tito affair - have almost a mind to publish
the letter in his real name - with all his posts lined up
after it.*

March 7, 1950

*Frank - J. M. Beland
Fitz - Murray*
Dear G and F

Received the last two batches of mail

Would you tell Mitz not to bother really pushing himself on the Catholic material. and you need not push yourself on the Pierre Frank translation.

We are shifting the dead-line to next Monday and in all probability will not be able to use either contributions for this issue, although if it is not too inconvenient we would not mind having the Catholic Church one on hand. *just in case x*

We have found out that the CCF B.C. Convention is taking place April 6, 7 week-end. Reg is going to attend---at this time it looks fairly certain. We are going to make this issue in its bulk and address to the B.C. CCF left. I think that this is by far the most important political development in Canada and it is worth our while to turn over the paper to it. Rod Young has given us two very good inside dope items which are real exposures and should create a terrific interest in the paper. I questioned the advisability of our publishing them as they expose the left's connections with us but he said go ahead. Some one on the left has sent in a contribution which is fairly good and we intend to publish it. Along with the contribution they sent in a list of about 50 names ~~of the left~~ and ~~of the left~~ of the left. Reg tells us that some of the clubs have sent in some good anti-war resolutionswe haven't received them yet but we want to publish them---Reg is rushing them as soon as he can get his hands on them.

We also intend to flood the B.C. section with copies of this issue. This will take us a couple of more days yet of typing out addresses from lists that have appeared in the CCF News.

So you can see we are not ready to go to press. This will put this issue back a week or so from schedule however I don't think that this is important in view of what possibilities exist for us in making it a really good one. We are writing ~~XXX~~ over 2/3rds on the CCF or with a CCF slant. I was going to send you some of the material to work over but I think we want it to be an integrated whole so we will try to handle it from this end.

Received your ideas on the Gladstone Murray affair and think they are good, will check it into

comradely

Ross

Would you translate this for me G....make eight copies and send seven of them back here would you---thanks

March 21, 1950

Montreal;

*Marc - ?
Pierre Frank - FI leader, Gange*

Dear Murray and Jean;

Taking up a few odd ends that have been accumulating in the last few weeks.

I suppose you have read the statement by the French Canadian Catholic leadership ~~and~~ labor...reproduced fairly fully in the G.M. Will send it along for the second Catholic article if you want it. We are expecting the first of the two articles just as soon as you are satisfied with your work on it. We will be going to press just as soon as we get Reg's report on the B.C. convention. It is taking place on the Easter week-end so we will be a little late again. But we can always use your stuff beforehand so there is no last minute rush with the printer. Last issue quite a bombshell eh. We increased the press run to 3,500 and are still in the process of mailing sample copies out to every B.C. name we can get hold off. I am sure it will raise hell in the convention. Had to drop Walsh's letter again for lack of space but I think we should now let it go altogether. ~~Did you see the last issue of the Tribune. Why he is in there with them up to his neck. Uses his own name for ~~Walsh~~ in their press---one on Easter Week which ends up with a build up for the C.P. as Connolly's heirs, edits their unemployed paper. I was only kidding you when I said I had a good mind to publish his letter with his name. But I am opposed to playing around with this guy. I am opposed to even the suggestion that I should write him. This guy has to understand that there is a line of blood between our movement and Stalinism, between the revolution and the Kremin-Tribune. Why he has the utmost contempt for us. There is only one kind of letter I am in favor of writing him and that is a very sharp one telling him our pages are closed to him and they always will be until he shows that he is a serious political person, he cant play around with us, he has to take a stand on this issue of issues. Perhaps this is what he needs. I know this, that we always lose out when we play soft with persons who have Stalinist tendencies, we dont win them when we show a tolerance towards Stalinism, when we take a soft political line, because as yet we have no organizational appeal to anyone, remember Julien. If that is the kind of letter alright.~~

Suprised that we have heard no word from Marc. B.R. Frank was here for a public meeting and I tried to locate Marc so he could come in but no dice. He is not at his old hotel. Nor has he got in contact with our one very good friend in Hamilton. This latter is rather important too for our Hamilton friend has given the party \$90 in the last 7 months and went to some little trouble to give Marc a hand with his immigration problem. He is anxious to know how marc made out. If Marc is back in Montreal tell him to write our Hamilton friend as soon as possible explaining why he was unable to call around.

Received the translation of the Pierre Frank pamphlet introduction. Sounds as if the pamphlet will be good. I am writing the SWP to see if they are doing anything with it. But in the meantime I think we can well go ahead with a translation of the first slab. Very doubtful if the SWP is touching it and if they do we can stop our translation. Could you send the first instalment for the next issue. We may not use it but we can very well do with some material like this at hand that we can throw in just in case anything happens to previous plans.

Thanks for the translation of the IS letter. We have sent it out to the N.C. members and will enclose it in the next internal bulletin. I am not too sure when we will be getting such a bulletin out but I expect to really get down to work on a document on the CCF as soon as I can get the correspondence away.

Re the ~~Stalinist~~ attacks on us---The letter that I sent you is absolutely genuine, that is in so far as the meeting at the Royal York, who was there? What was said and the exact date? well I dont know.

Since these decisive parts of the letter are correct I am inclined to believe that the whole thing is correct and genuine. Probably the fellow who wrote us did not want to get tangled up with us and used a false name and address for this purpose. Event got very far yet with the investigation of the possibilities of a case yet but am in the process of doing so.

No doubt you noticed the last issue of the Tribune with its amusing attempt to link our denial up with Gladys Murray's. I sent them a letter demanding a denial so that if and when we are able to go to court we will have gone through what I am sure a judge would demand of us. ...a repudiation of the slander, and a giving an opportunity to the editor of the paper involved a chance to publish our repudiation. The publication of the denial despite their attempt to even use this against us and carry forward their line seems to me to show that they are a trifle worried, that they think we might be up to something. I am enclosing a copy of the letter I sent them.

G Murray is not going to do anything. I believe he is going to try and hitch-hike on any case we might establish. He has no money so he says, but he wasn't aware of the Baron-Textile case. He confirmed the accuracy of the letter from Montreal. He told us about the evidence in the Label Enquiry, as you will note we used this in the last issue of the paper.

I have finally found the clippings that I had saved on the Baron case and have gone over them closely. From what I can see we have a case that is at least as good as Barons if not better. I see Joe Liff was the lawyer. There is no use in going to that fellow Risk, he did nothing about another piece of work I asked him to do for us. I have phoned Liff and have been informed that XXX for the duration of the house session he is not handling any cases, his partner is. So tomorrow I think I will drop up to the house and see what he has to say. I think we might as well go straight to him and be more or less prepared to govern ourselves on what he has to say.

Re the situation in the Toronto branch---it is far less tense than it has been for many many months. Ben is completely broken from Joe and the document from Barry seems to have had considerable effect with one or two other comrades who tended to believe that there was smoke there is fire....or at least a little spark. What effect it has had on Joe I am none too clear. He has been absolutely silent at the last few meetings, but this has been the case many times before just before he launched a new and bitter attack. Unfortunately he has been working the 4 to 12 shift the last couple of weeks. But someone of the comrades told me that he dismissed it in front of them with the statement that it isn't political, as if his own was in some way political and could receive a political reply. At anyrate there is no sharper situation, on the contrary a much improved one. But again it is in his hands...as you know he has carried the battle--is the offensive element. Yes I agree with you that we should immediately announce the decision to hold the convention. I think we should now attempt to set the date. So that the comrades who have any doubt know that we are dead serious and so that comrades who are able and who will be attending can make the preparations...arrange their holidays etc. Since representation of any proper kind depends so much on whether Reg, Angus and one or two others from the West Coast can attend I think we should at this stage merely attempt to establish the month and try and get the date from them. After all you and Jean and Windsor can come in any week-end whereas these comrades have a four day trip.

So I propose that we formally issue the convention call, the date early in September with the exact days, week-end, yet to be determined in consultation with the West Coast.

Finances; what have you to suggest? It seems to me that we are getting just about all we can from the party membership. I don't think we are getting quite as much as we should be able to in some cases but I believe we have put as much heat on as we can. You have the financial report at hand. Off hand all I can see is dropping an issue of the paper, which would almost cover one train fare, taking out a loan that could be paid off over a period of time. Incidentally do you know the date of the ECL convention? I believe it is being

held in Winnipeg. If Reg or some of the other West Coast comrades could become delegates it would go along way towards paying some of the costs. I seem to recall that it was decided to hold it in Winnipeg.

Re your(Murray's) suggestion that the N.C. should take a decision to cut off debate on the question of a bureaucratic tendency in the N.O. until the period of pre-convention discussion. ("decide a date for the convention and then when this has been decided introduce a motion to stop discussion on the Rose charges until a period of two months before the convention.") I think as I say above we should announce the tentative date now. Once having done this I think it would logically follow that the pre-convention discussion is open...open for any contribution of any type. I don't see how we can call it off(discussion on this tendency) until two months prior to the convention. This would only play into Joe's hands, bureaucracy, bureaucracy!!!!!! This is obviously the big reason for the convention to decide from his document. He is the only opposition in any real sense in the party and this would be a complete stifling of him.

Surely you don't think appeals that "further charges and counter charges, replies etc would only paralyse the party, fill up bulletins with personalities and lead nowhere" are going to be satisfactory explanations for such a decision to him, Joyce and Sonia. If you do then I can only think you believe Barry's document is a lot of crap or a considerable exaggeration. I could only believe that we could get acceptance of such a decision from him only if Barry's reply has taken more effect than I even ~~XXXXXX~~ believe it has. I think we have to throw it wide open now or at least as soon as we decided to set even the tentative date, otherwise we are going to only further his campaign. I think we have to look at this from his point of view that this is the issue of issues---he states so in the document---after years of struggle in the Toronto branch they finally came to the conclusion that this was the problem of problems.

It is just possible that after Barry's lashing he may take a step back and try to put out a political document...most probably on the CCF...he will try to hook onto Reg although he himself is opposed not only to entry but to any real fraction work(his argument is that our cadre is so small that fraction work amounts to entry) However we will see...and I think we should give a no-holds-barred signal

In a day or so I am going to send out an N.C. report and will include your proposals with my amendments unless you drop me a line prior to the time I can manage to get down to this.

Got a long letter from Murray Cotterill this morning protesting our article on the Steel raid on Mine Mill in Trail. It will be a big scoop for the next issue. Incidentally, probably you guessed but the article was written by our Burton of Trail. He wants to join the party. Will send you a copy of Cotterill's letter when I get a chance to type it.

I think I am covering everything else of importance in the N.C. letter.

comradely



Ross

Had a long talk with one of our US visitors (Nats.) and have agreed to attend a meeting he wants to arrange with Joe - to see what he wants.

March 22, 1950

Dear Don,

Just a note to ease the strain on your mind as to who won the vote.

Incidentally I hope the party collects it if it is any bigger than a beer.

Yes I wrote ~~XXXXX~~ the Tribune ~~XXX~~ a letter denying their slander and demanding that they publish our repudiation. You see we are thinking of taking them to court, and one of the first things that a judge would ask us was did we give them a chance to withdraw the slander...~~XXX~~ if we didn't...we would be rather hard put to sustain a claim that such a thing was slander and did us harm. The fact that they disclose that we wrote a denial looks to me that they think we might be up to something..although of course they try to use even this to further their slander.

We are still investigating the adviseability of taking them to court...it might cost a lot of money...the loser of the case pays the costs but slander cases are ticklish things. We have one important precedent...Sam Baron sued the Stalinists (Textile Union AFL) for slander last year and won \$3,000. Of course the case could be invaluable as a forum to expose the stalinists and vindicate the Trotskyist movement I tried to see Jolliffe this afternoon (he handled Baron's case) but to no avail. Still trying though.

Sending 25 copies of the last issue right away so they should arrive Saturday at the latest. How did you like it. We are flooding B.C. and all CCF homes we can locate. Hoping that we will be the big issue in the convention. Reg is going to it. Its in Penticton. Real inside dipe eh! I'll bet the right is frothing at the mouth. Opened up the mail this morning and what do you think we found...a letter from Murray Cotterill himself attacking but in a sense chiding us for the article on the Steel raid on Mine Mill in B.C. We will publish it in the next issue. Should create considerable interest. Quite a scoop for us eh!

Incidentally just in case you had any doubts those articles from CCFers are genuine. One of them is from a Provincial Executive member whom you dont know but who is very close to us. The other I dont know but was written in agreement with Reg. Can you get some subs from CCFers with this issue.

Are you unemployed? Is the gang coming in for Easter. How did you like Barry's job on Joe. I am against sending subs in envelopes. If a guy wont take the paper in a wrapper I dont think much of him and I try like hell to convince him to take the wrapper, but if it looks like an envelope or nothing we send the paper in an envelope. What difference does it make if Genora sold the sub..she is one of us.

Not verboten, just fround upon, discouraged, ridiculed slightly and if no other course is open accepted with distaste. Hope you guys are betting or shooting the shit on some important things

Hope to see you all on the holiday week-end—

comrade Ly

Hoss.

March 30, 1950 ✓

Windsor

Dear Comrades;

Sorry to be so long in answering the three letters that we have received in the last month. I gather that you have been receiving the papers and books that you asked for alright.

Received all your clippings including the copy of Don's letter to the ~~WINDSOR~~ editor. A very good job. You inspired Barry to sit down yesterday and write a letter to the Star attacking an editorial they had on Trotsky and Stalin, that Stalin had now taken up world revolution and that Tito should be supported by the West because unlike Stalin he was a nationalist. It did not appear yesterday in the paper but may today. Yes we have to keep alert to all possibilities and angles of getting our stick in.

It is good to see that the paper is bringing forth comments from our Windsor readers. Are there any unfavourable ones. How did they like our reply to the Tribune slander? the material on the CCF in the last issue? etc? It is good to hear any criticism to see if the paper has serious weaknesses in any way. Do you have a complete list of subscribers there now? If you haven't it would be a good idea for us to send you one so you know just who is getting the paper and you can keep on your toes for subscriptions...there must be lots of opportunities around the union halls. Did you try to sell the paper at the Ford meeting? It is a very good idea, sort of a test that is really worth making. Particularly after you have made distributions and the paper is known amongst many of the workers. Barry and I went to Hamilton the other night to distribute the paper at a Stalinist front trade union meeting and I sold a sub to a fellow I got into a conversation with.

I have glanced through the line up of the class and it looks first rate. Your class is much more successful than our Toronto one, it is probably the best attended from the point of view of contacts of any class being conducted in North America by the Fourth. We have started a class here on the Communist Manifesto...I hope we can get as many contacts, but after all while you are only three you are really rooted in the trade union movement and that is our weakness here in Toronto. How is the situation for contacts coming along. Has that fellow moved away from Windsor yet. Perhaps taking him into the party will prevent him from moving. I wonder if I convinced you to take him in or relief is found in the "solution" of him moving away. After all we don't want this type of fellow to move away to some small town or some place where we will have no contact. Even if he is not ready for the party we want him to stay in contact with us and the only way is for him to stay in Windsor. Did we decide ~~whether~~ whether we want to take him into the party or not yet? If we want him and from what you say I am convinced we do then we must try to convince him that there is no real solution for him in moving away to some other town and its unemployment. If we can convince him of that then it might be best not to take him in if we are convinced that once from under our influence we would immediately lose him. Is there anyone else coming along?

Perfectly agreeable to sending along the Trotsky bust to Lyle to have copies made. We could make money from them and no doubt would bring Lyle closer to us. Do you want us to ship it or will you pick it up when you come in?

It is not at all necessary for you comrades to gather some money to make a pool for the purchase of books. We will send you along a complete assortment of books on credit. You can have them on hand and then every once in a while forward us money in payment of those you sell. I am enclosing a list of the books that are still in print and in stock. I am sure we could sell a considerable amount of literature ~~and~~ to those who attend the class and those workers with whom we are in close contact at the union hall.

You make no mention of receiving the last internal bulletin with Joes appeal to the membership and Barry's reply. I hope you got them alright and made no mention only because it is old stuff with you and did not cause you to have any discussion. The party seems to have taken the whole thing calmly. As a matter of fact no one has mentioned it except for Vancouver. They had a discussion in the branch but I gather it was inconclusive. Toronto has had no discussion for of course it is old stuff for them. What effect it has had has been hard to determine. Joe has been working a night shift for the past three or four weeks and I haven't seen him but once since then.

There is one point about the unemployed union that has come up in two of your letters...that is on the Stalinist argument that the CCL unemployed union by affiliating the unemployed to the CCL are splitting the unemployed, possibly even raiding the TLC. This is just a phoney and in essence we answered it in the long article we wrote exposing the Stalinist position on the unemployed union. The fact of the matter ~~is~~ is that the TLC is doing nothing and is not even showing any intentions of doing anything with the unemployed. (Of course there may be one or two areas of exception) We want the unemployed to be organized by the unions to be affiliated to an international union center. If the CCL is the only force making any gestures towards organization of the unemployed within the frame work of our correct position of organization of the unemployed by the trade unions why then we go along with it. You can't raid something that doesn't exist, you can split something that isn't there. We must go ahead with the organization of the unemployed under a CCL charter. If the TLC shows signs of starting to move into the field we should then make moves to come to some kind of agreement with the TLC in its efforts---possibly have the unemployed become members of some joint TLC-CCL body...we will see when we will see. In the meantime I can only understand the Stalinist argument to be an attempt to prevent the organization of the unemployed outside any organization other than the ones that they are sponsoring and which are ineffective because they have no connections with the trade unions....it only results in this. Progressive arguments, or what would be progressive under different conditions are often used for reactionary purposes.

You will be interested to know that Murray Cotterill took time out to write a statement of opposition for our stand on Mine Mill vs Steel at Trail. We will be publishing the ~~next~~ letter in the next issue with a reply.

In the meantime you comrades can be thinking over and working over an article for the next issue of the paper on the Chrysler Ford negotiations. We need such an article for the next issue and you are in a much better position to write it than we here in Toronto. You can bring it in with you on the holiday...it just happens to be the dead line. You should have a discussion in the branch before writing it up. So we will be seeing you, hope you can all come in

comradely

Found in March 1950

Marie Bédard

Jean;

Pierre Frank - F.I. leader

Is that Pierre Frank pamphlet on the history of Trotskyism a good job. You know we have had several requests from readers for a history of our movement. What do you think of translating it for the paper...running it serially....keeping the type and perhaps when we get the dough running it off as a pamphlet

If you haven't had time to read it let me know later

If you have it might be just the thing to start off in this issue. I was planing on writing something on our party so the CCF would know where to go to if any go anywhere. But I was thinking of using our anti-war record.

April 26, 1950 ✓

M. Zedus (mt)
Dear Jean;

Received your note about Erlich and am in the process of seeing what can be done. Will arrange to see Harry Clairmont in the market tomorrow. He has good trade union connections in the needle trades.

Can Erlich speak English yet? What is his trade if he has any...or at least what has he been working at? I suppose he will be in here on Saturday. It would be good if you could let me know this right away so that I could have already done some serious investigating by the time he gets here. If you see him before he goes you might instill in him a little more that things are just as bad here as in Montreal...I know that there is little in the needle trades. Batoletti I know now cannot hire him as he has been laying off and his partner ship is folding up. Of course Clairmont may have some angles, and possibly something might be worked in Hamilton but I am doubtful. Several contact of the party are unemployed and the they tell me there is little or nothing doing.

~~Have not heard anything from Reg on the convention and did not hear from Fraser~~
I am picking this up on the Monday.

I see that Gordon did not come in or at least Erlich didn't as no one got in touch with me over the week-end and I was down here all the time. A new angle has come up. As you know our new comrade is working for the CIL unemployed union. The other day he told me that there was an enquiry by some employer for two men from the union. He sent out one of our comrades and another worker. So it would seem to me that we have some possibilities here that may well provide Erlich with a job. As a matter of fact, I had it more or less arranged that if he came in here he would be able to go over and see this employer today as coming from the union. Now how often bosses are going to go to the CIL union to hire I do not know. It may not happen again for weeks. This is the first occasion so far. And this call came on a Friday so that we had time to maneuver between then and the time to report to work on Monday.

If Erlich just can't get a job there and he has some relatives here it might be a good idea for him to come on in. He will have a place to ~~stay~~ stay, he can look around here and we just might be able to work thro the unemployed union, who knows. By the way would you tell me what he can do, if he has a trade or ~~anything~~ any experience at anything? I sent very well go after Hamilton without knowing something about what kind of work he can do.

Am enclosing the lapel badge and have marked up the sub for Desputeau.

ELS

I was speaking to Ken when he returned from Montreal on the Easter week-end. Apparently he took time out to have a discussion with Jacques Morin of the CCYL. Morin told Ken that two CCYL activists have dropped out, they are moving to the left politically and he thinks are gravitating to the LPP. Their names are Sylvester and the other Ray Walker. Ken is confident that Morin will give you their addresses so that you would be able to go around to see them. One of them I do not remember which Ken said ~~was~~ has considerable potentialities for us.

Hope you can follow these two names up.

I am still waiting to hear from Vancouver as to their ability to have some comrades come last for the convention this fall. Angus has not yet replied to my last letter enquiring as to the reasons for their inability to have representation at the convention.

Steve, I think your proposal to hold a regional convention is a good one -- ~~UNLESS~~ when we get all the data at our finger tips and if we find that they are positively unable to send any proper representation I think we should follow this idea up. However I think we will have to wait until we hear from Vancouver. I wrote a letter to the branch last week on this question of their ability to send delegates last along with several other matters and certainly expect to hear from them within a week or two.

Montreal

As to Gordon becoming a member of the ~~Montreal~~ branch, I see no reason at all why he should not. He did not break from the Toronto branch on any political grounds---there were a host of other factors---he and Margaret were not hitting it off so well, he was fed up with his job, the atmosphere in the Toronto branch was not very sympathetic mainly due to Joe who was carrying a grudge right. Gordon is one of us although not really in the political sense, he doesn't in my opinion ~~EXPLICITLY~~ when you get to the bottom of it accept the theory of the class struggle. He has moved in pretty rotten petty bourgeois circles at various times and they have had some influence on him. However he is a very capable comrade particularly in an administrative sense---I am sure he will be of some real aid. While I suppose there is no formal transfer to be made as he has quietly dropped from membership I will report the matter to the branch.

How did you like the last bulletin? I suppose you noted that Joe took out that part about Barry becoming an organic part of the bureaucratic tendency. He did it without even saying a word to me...as Joyce was typing some of the stencils. How did you like the reply. Seems like it has brought a close to it all. Joe has returned in the last three or four meetings anyway to his old silent self...nothing to say or contribute.... and I think we will have to carry forward our trust ~~EXPLICITLY~~ of giving him no direction in the union---he has absolute hostility to this and this would only bring up the whole thing again. I think we have done the best that could be done in the situation.

* Phone Murray about his article on the Catholic church would you. We sent it here on Monday morning at the latest.

The B. C. P. News has at last attacked us through a columnist called Walter Montz--pretty vicious....uses the metaphor of Tokyo Rose. You will read about it in the next issue

comradely

Boss

1950-Apr

AND A FURTHER NOTE ON THIS DISCUSSION

by Ross Dowson

After reading Comrade Rose's footnote to his latest handiwork, we must confess it is with considerable reluctance that we even write a mere two or three pages of notes in reply.

With just a few words Comrade Rose has now brushed aside his revelations appearing in the March bulletin. In a document in that bulletin you will recall Comrade Rose, after almost two years of reflection, announced his discovery of the cause of a "crisis" that demands "the intercession of the party... to prevent the dislocation of the entire party." The cause of the crisis, it turned out, was myself — a bureaucratic tendency seven times proven. With the same few words Comrade Rose dismisses his newest revelations on the bureaucratic tendency and his vicious slurs against another leading comrade in the party, Barry Brent.

Both documents, crying for the emergency of the situation, upheld by Comrade Rose in the most straight-faced manner to be political, not organizational, but political, political and crucially political, he now disposes of. He now informs us that there must be no more diversions. He considers "that all efforts should now be bent towards the ideological and political clarification of the many issues facing the party. There should be no diversion from or interference with this pressing task. Such political clarification..." etc. etc. To all this we can only say Amen. Let us have no more diversions, let us get on with the political clarification.

Comrade Rose's reason for tossing aside these abusive and disruptive documents as a mere bagatelle is "the decision to hold the convention this fall and in view of the pre-convention discussion which fulfill all our immediate demands."

So Comrade Rose believes that he has won a victory — a convention and a pre-convention discussion! Hand in hand with such a belief must go of course the belief that his opposition is and always has been dead-set against a convention, intransigently opposed to discussion. One only has a feeling of helplessness in the face of such illusions, such baseless and hopelessly stupid illusions.

If comrade Rose desires to seek solace in such an illusion built up on such ridiculous proofs of bureaucracy as Dowson's moving a motion that Toronto branch minutes record only formal decisions of the branch, as had always been done in the past, to avoid possible misinterpretations by the secretary, then one can only say amen. If comrade Rose wishes to seek solace in a belief that there has been no discussion on the CCF and that he "forced some discussion" on the CCF — (we might note that the June bulletin had a lengthy article on the tactic of entry by comrade Brent, an extensive organizational report by myself calling for increased CCF fraction work, and in May, June, July and August there were 5 out of 13 internal educationals on the CCF, two given by Rose) — we will not begrudge him this. If such illusions are personally comforting to Comrade Rose he is surely welcome to them.

After reading Comrade Rose's pledge that he terminates this part of the discussion with the preceding article, which incidentally contains a whole new series of distortions and abuse, I feel a bit caddish about saying any more. However there are one or two items amongst the many that cannot be permitted to slide by without comment.

Before we leave Comrade Rose's documents on the UE and the bureaucratic tendency on the shelves to gather dust, a few words might well be said about such products of the psycho-analytical school of politics. All the great energy that Comrade Rose expended in their manufacture, all the disruption and disorientation that they brought into the branch, the price of which the Toronto branch is now paying in the demoralization of some of its newer and less assimilated members, served no purpose of any kind. Unfortunately such campaigns, regardless of the falsity of the charges, tend to soil in some way those against whom they are directed by the sheer weight of the abuse. But they are also double-edged and turn sharpest on their inventor. Certainly no one has got anything from them other than some insight into the practitioner.

What can Toronto comrades who were there think of a comrade who dares to say "I did not charge at any time that an entry was being plotted." The discerning comrade can even see the falsity of this claim by reading the document closely. It is written entirely from this premise. What can they think of a comrade who attempts to slip over 1-1/2 pages of tailored commentaries on the CCF as the body of a half hour talk and as proof of the falseness of what Comrade Brent charges it was? What can be said for the fanatical attempt to refute Comrade Brent's document by the denial that he accepted an appointment to the executive of his local besides the appointment as chief steward. No one said that the appointments are a crime in themselves but Toronto branch members know the simple facts of the matter. What can be said for a comrade who in his second document attempting to refute Comrade Brent, gives proof that his first charges are false. It now appears that the infamous Dowson did not withhold information on the elections as originally charged (charge three of the seven), but revealed all that he knew to the branch, (p. 10). All of which goes to show just what inextricable difficulties one can get into, and what it is sometimes felt necessary to do to get out of them, once objectivity and the path of politics is deserted.

The experiences of the American party have been very fruitful and will always be a source of knowledge and inspiration to our movement. Comrade Rose's attempts to set himself up as an authority on American party experiences are commendable but let us assure him that SWP resolutions don't need to be incorporated into the bulletins of the Canadian party to become ours, to be slipped over on us in raw, undigested slabs without acknowledgement of source, as revelations to our movement.

Comrade Rose should digest the lessons of the American experiences before holding them up as lessons for the Canadian party. Don't try to refute the characterization of your recent conduct as being Abernite by attempting to show that there is not an identity. Don't try to raise the scare of office leadership and the auto crisis to cover up your mistaken position on CCF MPP and packinghouse leader Fell's participation in the building of a catholic caucus in your local. Don't try to make out that the branch (not Dowson) did anything more than to attempt to reaffirm our party's policy, not set the tactical approach. It left this in your hands. It was only when you kept

crying that we botched it, was any comment made on your conduct which you will recall was generally commended. Don't try to slap Trotsky and the 1940 control commission down on the Toronto dispute. In the US there was a minority composed of comrades who either understood or thought they understood the questions at dispute. The minority and its various component parts had concrete positions on the Russian question, etc. No one knows your position on the UE to this day. We know that you are opposed to a CCF entry at this time (which no one has even demanded; you know that I only suggested to the Vancouver branch that they should discuss it and that on the basis of available knowledge thought it might be advisable for them to enter.) And the branch knows that you are now opposed to any serious CCF fraction work by your making it necessary to reaffirm our fraction as late as the Feb. 22 meeting. But when you demanded the control commission there was no minority aside from two or three comrades who managed on sundry occasions, on petty but much magnified disputes, to rally other forces, mostly new and quite inexperienced comrades. There was no clear line obvious to anyone. The demand for a control commission, not made to the NC, not even discussed on the executive, is far from "proof of clean hands" but was a cynical attempt to split the branch down the middle and to consolidate an unprincipled fraction that was rapidly disappearing as Comrade Rose committed his ideas to black and white — to paper.

One more comment, Comrade Rose — on your methods and handling of your opponents in this past dispute. You try to make out that there have been underhanded attempts to keep you off the branch executive in order to prevent you from presenting your differences either real or imagined. The request that you not run was made quite openly seven or eight months before anyone even heard a word from you on the UE or the CCF, and as you know in the belief that you had proven in the past executive, which you wrote off as a collection of Dowson's stooges, incapable of working with the comrades. You raise the bogey of expulsion threats, yet you know well the circumstances under which the comments, the bits of gossip which you now parade before the party, were made, and you know well that there has been no real talk or even suggestion of expulsions.

There are certain limits to what is permissible and what impermissible in inner party disputes. They must be carried on in such a way so that it is possible when the dispute is resolved by convention for comrades to continue to work together for the common cause. Comrade Rose has injected such a sharp and tense atmosphere into the party in the past year or so that he made it extremely difficult to maintain an honest and working relationship.

It is one thing to characterize and combat the arguments and the attempt to destroy the position of your opponent, another to twist, distort and falsify his position and his integrity. Comrade Rose knows quite well that Comrade Brent was not going out of the party when approached by the NC to come onto the payroll for the magnificent sum of \$10 a week. On the contrary Comrade Brent, knowing that such a decision marks a turning point in the life of any revolutionary, asked for time to consider this question — not continued party membership — in all its ramifications. Comrade Rose, who waxed indignant when the Windsor comrades neglected to refer to the co-signer of his document, disposes of Comrade Brent's document as being ghosted by Dowson, labels Comrade Brent as a mere "school boy" under "schoolmaster

Dowson”, and such a disreputable element that he sells himself to Dowson who buys him with party funds.

Such vilification and character assassination, planned when one is attempting to place an unbridgeable chasm between his opponent and the party, consciously carried out when preparing for a split, is impermissible if one hopes to return to a working relationship. It is hard to describe my amazement upon hearing from Comrade Rose after his far reaching campaign of character assassination that he has no desire to change the Canadian leadership.

Let us hope that with this unfortunate experience past, the party will be permitted to get down to the tasks that confront it and that in the resolution of these tasks comradely bonds so necessary to build the party will be firmly re-established.

CONVENTION CALL (April 1950)

The National Committee hereby notifies all branches and members at large of the RWP that the party's 2nd National Convention will convene in Toronto early this fall. The precise date has yet to be determined in consultation with West Coast branches.

The National Committee has taken on itself to prepare for the convention the following documents:

- 1 — National Economic and Political Resolution
- 2 — French Canada
- 3 — Trade Union Policy
- 4 — The CCF

The internal bulletin is open to all party members on the above subjects or any other which they may wish to present for consideration of the party.

The basis of representation has not yet been determined but will be ascertained on further consultation with the West Coast comrades. In the case of political differences defined by conflicting resolutions, the election of delegates in branches is to be on the basis of proportional representation. Delegates shall be elected on the basis of the vote on resolution or resolutions voted on at the meeting at which the delegates are elected. Members voting for a given resolution are entitled to designate the delegate or delegates to which they are entitled on the basis of proportional representation, the designation to be ratified by the branch.

All party members in good standing may attend the convention as visitors.

Fraternaly, National Committee, R. Dowson, Ntl. Sec.

May 10, 1950 /

Dear Comrades;

(Winston Churchill)

Received your letter for 400 copies of the leaflet. In the next mail you will receive all that we have on hand, about 280, plus about 150 copies of the last issue of the paper. Between the two of them you should be able to ~~handle~~ carry out a good coverage. Would have run off some more but the Stencil went to pieces and new ones will have to be typed---that takes quite a while particularly when we are trying to go to press.

I do not think you should cover the CCF banquet, in fact I do not think we should ever cover LPP CCF banquets, socials, dances etc except under very particular circumstances. It creates considerable hostility so much that what ~~you~~ you hope to achieve is not achieved. Political meetings are of course quite different. We got a hot reception from the peace mongers last Saturday. They tried to gang up on us and scare us away, several standing around all the time trying to get people to refuse copies. We stuck the leaflet in the paper, not folded but flat so that it stuck away out and would be read first. We distributed about 500 to the 1000 persons attending the congress. We did not touch the Maple Leaf Gardens meeting. Barry and I got credentials to the Congress and I managed to get them to grant me 5 minutes to speak. Got a mixed reception from a fairly sharp attack on their program. The party hacks prevented anyone talking to us. Will cover it all in the paper.

Hugh---haven't sold the car yet, last week-end too busy with the congress. Was offered 1275 first enquiry a few weeks ago, Would have been able to sell it for 1300 if it had been blue a week or so ago. Putting it in the paper again this week-end. Not many enquiries, I think we will have to take 1275 but will keep trying at 1300. Think 1350 out of the question.

Have you any money there? Things are really quite tight. Barry has taken on a part time job in the evenings and we are both looking for a part time job of one or two days a week. It will be at some expense to the party to lose this time, it already is with Barry tied up every evening but it looks like there is not much alternative.

Will write next week when the paper is away.

comradely

Ross

May 16, 1950 ✓

M. Bedard, Mtl.
Dear Jean;

Sorry to be so long in replying to your batch of letters. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ We have come to a lull in the process of putting out the paper. Didn't have enough copy for him to work on last week, now flooding him and we are in a place where we are waiting for galleys. What happened to Murray's article? I did not write him further about it as I assumed you must have told him we wanted it last Monday May 8th. I have remedied the situation by writing up the history of the Winnipeg General Strike for this issue.

Made a drastic move last week—Barry and I are going to have to take on part time jobs. Barry wants to go on full time job but I am opposed to this hoping we can scrape up enough in two days to keep us—it would be a bigger step backward in my opinion for us to go back to one full timer than to waste 2 days a week of both of us not working for the party. So I used up a day last week working for a boss. What a job. I took the one that offered the most—one dollar an hour. I wouldn't do it for two dollars an hour. It was heaving these ten inch concrete blocks all day, keeping two guys supplied and piling up on the building site. The blocks weigh about 46 pounds. Quite a job. I am looking for another as soon as we get the paper away. Had five answers to my add—so should have little difficulty getting one that is so goddamn exhausting.

There is not much alternative as the dough just isn't coming in. Windsor is still a dud although Hugh started working again and Don has got a job according to Hugh's last letter. The monthly income mustn't even make up for the cost of the paper let alone the thirty weekly wages. It is going to cost the party something for us to work two days a week, that is in party efficiency, activities, keeping in touch with the various comrades etc. But I don't think it will be for too long. The American comrades according to one of our Buffalo visitors are beginning to feel a little bit of an upturn. What do you and Murray think of the idea of both of us working part time rather than say Barry going to work full time. I myself am opposed to the latter idea as you know when a comrade works all day on a tough job (and that is the only kind Barry could get or would want) there is pretty much of an end to his political development.

Re the Hippe-Haas case; I think we have gone through all the channels there are for us except one which just came to my mind the other day—that is the Workmen's Circle. We have a couple of ex-comrades in one of the workmen circle clubs and I intend to get them to raise it. Haven't heard anything from the CCL or from the civil rights organization but will phone them on Monday...they must by now have had time to do something. Not expecting very much though, we will probably get the same result here as you got with the Montreal Labor Council.

Thanks for the information. Did not use it in this issue. It came just ~~XX~~ a little too late, and since we had nothing else in the case we did not use it in the paper. Hope to have something else for the next issue—should publish it anyway.

Re the Peace Congress—you will see some of the details in the last issue. Both Barry and I went up. Barry ~~XXXXXXXX~~ attended nearly all the sessions but I only went to the Saturday afternoon session. Managed to get ~~XX~~ in the speakers stand for the allotted five minutes that they had been giving to all the various publicity hounds, and would be leaders that attended the affair. You know the usual way they go—Brither so and so UE, brother so and so of some language front....no one has anything different to say from anyone else. nothing to add IEX Peace. Peace

why you know I've got so; that when I hear the word peace I feel like reaching for a gun. They were not going to let me speak I feel sure. Both Barry and I handed in our names then went down to the floor near the speakers stand. After we handed in ours several others did but they were called to speak before us. During an intermission to welcome the Dean Mrs Jennison passed by me and I asked her if I was going to be allowed to speak pointing out to her in a threatening manner that other had spoken ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ already who had turned their names in later than I. She mumbled something about other persons wanting to speak etc but assured me that I would. Well I did but they never let Barry and we did not raise any shit since one of was allowed. No doubt they felt, and correctly, that I would get the ear of the press if they refused to let me speak. After all having run for mayor and polling 15,000 votes? Before I spoke they announced that speakers had only five minutes. ~~XXX~~ Everyone else had spoken almost as long as they liked and as long as one could just putting the need for peace in various ways. Hare, who along with Jennison chaired the meeting even warned me when I had half a minute to go so I observed the time. I think Barry reports more or less what I had to say and also the reaction. Two people as soon as I got off the stand approached me but were quickly pulled away by the party hacks and Ed was unable to talk to anyone. Windsor distributed at the Peace Rally there and Hugh said several people mentioned hearing me. About five people mentioned your speech in Toronto with variations of doubt, but most of them took new leaflets. The reception was far from hostile. Quite an interesting remark on it in the Tribune eh! Al Barry reports the reception was mixed. When I started about the elections in Toronto, the vote the character, got a good applause. When I mentioned ~~XXXX~~ Yugoslavia got boos. ~~XXXX~~ When I talked about the character of the movement and the program silence and considerable attention. When I closed I would say that most there were silent the rest were half and half, half boos, half applause. No doubt it upset the happy, christian atmosphere. Some on spoke right after me---a put up job. Unfortunately I do not know who it was. He attacked those who use the language of the labor movement but who are not of it. Very general--- I yelled out name names. Pare attacked me for not signing the ban the bomb petition and unfortunately I had left myself wide open for this. Too bad I had not prepared my speech before hand with such limited time at my disposal. But I am sure we did a good job. They were furious about the distribution of the leaflet and the paper. Someone knocked the papers out of one of the comrades hands. About six goons came up to me Ed and Myer but I moved into the wall, my back to it and continued the distribution warring on a running argument trying to hold them up to scorn. There were the usual slanders, a few demonstratively took the paper and tore it up. But a considerable number kept it. I have written Vancouver ~~XXXXXXXX~~ urging them to send delegates to a B.C. Congress that is being held.

Incidentally there was nothing of any importance there but the party and all its fronts. I would gaher that the campaign had roused inot activity some of the ~~XXXXXX~~ former membership but on the whole it was a pretty dead thing. I just came into the hall when JP Walsh was ending off a very violent talk. I did not get any of it unfortunately and did not see him around at anytime during the rest of the session. Barry heard Walsh and he says it was pretty much the same old shit

Re; L.E. and a job. Have checked on what few angles there and and no dice. Nothing through the unemployed union however you never know about this there might just possibly be two or three opening tomorrow and then again none for a couple of weeks. I think the situation for jobs here is not too bad. It has certainly opened up considerably although of course there are thousands not working. I gather from the press that it is not quite as bad here as in montreal.

Re subs and plates; The subscriptions plates that do not have numbers on them are those that we are resigned to sending them free. We have people here like Lois and Ken who give us money but for some unknown reason never ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ RENEW THEIR subs. Well we dont want to cut them off as it would mean we could never get any money off them so we take the number off. I was sending it to people like Valliancourt who we may not get money from(although I dint see why we should not ask him for some,)

as I think in their own way they may be interested ~~and~~ I don't take their old expiration number off as I hope that sooner or later they will renew, or maybe we will drop them so why waste the money. I am removing Vaillancourt, (Do you think it beneath our dignity to ask him for a renewal next time we see him, whatever you say is OK with me) Durand and Collin.

We do not necessarily take a person's name off as soon as their sub expires. We usually wait till there are a number of plates expired then we pull them off together. As soon as we pull the plates off the file we send them all a notice of expiration and at the same time send a duplicate list to the comrades living in the most immediate area so that they can call around to pick up the renewal. I am sure you must have received such lists in the past, of course they were never very large as we have never been able to get many subscribers in the Montreal area. Will let you know when ever we pull off any plates.

Have sent you 15 copies of the paper as you suggest in May 16 letter. My mistake on Desputeau...got the other straight. The sub for La Verite numbered 83 I have taken to be yours and advanced it to 89. Having plates made for Fitz, Alabert and G. If there is anything interesting taken up at the National Executive of the CCYM be sure to let me know. We have three comrades in the CCYM. I wonder if there is not something worthwhile writing up for the paper.

Sorry about misleading you on Sylvestre....my anglicizing of it. ...and what I thought was the Frenchizing of Raymond. That article was written by Don Borland and that is the name he wanted on it---I suppose for the French population in Windsor

I see you ask if we haven't got another sub in Quebec., perhaps in the upper town? No! John Smith is all we have. I thought it was Walsh. I gather then he does not receive our paper.

With regards the leaflet that Barry wrote on the Peace Congress. Sorry but we shipped every last one we had to Windsor for their distribution there. I suppose you noticed we have a good bit of it in the last issue of the paper. Do you think it worth while to put more out on mimeograph foilsap? Unfortunately just as we completed running off enough for Windsor the stencils disintegrated. ...so we would have to retype them. If you and Murray think it worthwhile why we will do so at once. Perhaps it would be a good idea to rewrite it for general distribution to Stalinists, to Peace Congress meetings etc...run it off on two pages of paper and folded as a little pamphlet. Trail asked for 20 copies and Wiseton for a dozen or so. If the movement was a little bigger and with a little dough I would be in favor of rewriting it a little, printing it or at least getting a printed copy and selling it for a cent.

Will try to get a letter to the N.C. out tomorrow on several other items

comradely

Ross

May 16/50

Dear Jean---just a note before I go home to bed---have just layed out the paper and have to get up early tomorrow to get to the printers---

Here is the subscription list....names and addresses of every person getting a copy in Quebec and Maritimes. We always send out a letter notifying persons of the expiration of their subscription. I do not know how to account for the comments that they did not know that the sub expired. We have always sent out this form letter because we agree that persons do not observe the number on their plate.

Ken tells me that there is a considerable Yugoslav population in Montreal and that it is concentrated pretty well in one little area. The next issue of the paper is an excellent one for mailing to Yugoslavs. I wonder if we could not get a voters list of that district say from the CCF XXX thro Morin, Fogel or someone. Yugoslav names are very easy to identify and we could mail out several hundred copies and see what happens. Could you check into this right away and let me know the score. We could do the mailing from here if you wanted to send the XXXX voters list (preferably federal).

Will write for sure on Thursday

conradely

Ross

June 7, 1950 ✓

The SWP
116 University Place
New York

William F. Ward (George Norack)

Dear Comrade Ward;

I notice from the May 22 issue of the Militant and the P.C. minutes that you are in fairly close contact with ~~the~~ American pro-Tito Yugoslavs. There is a considerable Yugoslav population here in Canada and the May 22 issue mentions that many of them are sending in subscriptions to the Titoist Novi List. You report that branches of the Friends of New Yugoslavia are being formed in many cities.

We of course are very anxious to make contact with the Yugoslav movement. Possibly you know that the Editor of the Stalinist Yugoslav paper was expelled in December 1948 along with two or three members of the Canadian Yugoslav movement for Titoism. At that time I went around to see this fellow (his name is John Djaji) but as we could expect at that time he was quite frightened of us. He invited me into his home and had me tell him about our movement—he did not want to talk about Yugoslavia and the break with Stalin. Since then I am told he has gone to New York...it is possible that he is editing Novi List. It would appear that the Stalinists were able to cut off those who were sympathetic to the YCP before they were able to do anything about organizing their forces. There were repercussions in several clubs in various towns and cities but for the last year and a half we have heard nothing.

We have made several shots in the dark—for instance we mailed about 1500 copies of the last issue of Labor Challenge with the headline on the May Day declaration and the condensation of the Pyade exposure of Stalin's sabotage of the Partisan struggle. We sent them to Yugoslav names in Toronto...most of them have some kind of contact with Stalinist cultural organizations. But we have been unable to establish any contact.

We are now wondering if we could establish some kind of contact through your contacts. Of course I am well aware that they may not be that good as yet but then again they may be. One of the comrades has suggested that we should write Novilist enquiring about a branch they may have here of the Friends of Yugoslavia. We have an inactive party member, a Yugoslav, who would provide us with his name and address although he would be known to Djaji as a Trotskyist. I thought it best to drop a line to get your opinion and to ask you to investigate the possibility of making some contact for us to work on.

Enclosed you will find \$20 for Europe

Would you turn over the enclosed slip to the FI

comradely

Ross Dowson

Friday June 23, 1950 ✓

Dear Hugh;

Don (Kendrick)

*Don Doherty
Don Berland*

This is a personal note so that we can talk quite frankly about the problem of the Dons.

We have not received any money from Don B nor a letter. What should our attitude be on this money question? Well, I think we will just have to go soft for a period. He knows what sacrifices you and Don D are making, he knows what the needs are what other comrades are doing to meet them etc and I don't see what more we can do. You know I really shamed him into the pledge when I was there. I am quite convinced that in the next period to try to squeeze him further, prod him and embarrass him will not result in any ~~ANY~~ better reactions towards finances on his part and on the contrary can only drive him further away from the movement. When I was there I got no political inkling that he was moving away from us as did Saul in the discussion on dialectics but certainly his attitude towards funds and this petty bourgeois attempt to build a bank roll in the vain hope that it will be some kind of a buffer in the face of unemployment shows that he is not too closely tied to the revolutionary movement. And of course I recall your reports about his dreams of going back to university for no goddamn reason at all but to escape the factory. If we keep hammering away on this I fear that he will rise in a temper some night and walk away. And of course he is valuable, is by no means a finished personality can be really valuable in the future and we should not take this risk.

What I think you should do is whenever the question of money comes up, ask Don for his, remark on what you are going to do, ask him about his contributions and take what he offers without any protest., without any lectures, sharp comments or remarks. I think that possibly it will straighten out as a short time slips by...at any rate letting it lie for a while will be beneficial and we can take it up again this fall if necessary.

Don't think I don't know how difficult it is for you to work there with those two prama donnas. I am terribly sorry that I did not take or make time to have a couple of private talks with you when I was there last. I know that Don D is a hard fellow to work with that he likes to play a lone hand in the unions, doesn't want to be bothered talking over problems and lines of march with you, has personal idiosyncracies that clash with your personality. All I hope is that it is not proving too ~~damning~~ trying an experience for you attempting to work with them and that it is not causing you any demoralization

For all their faults both Dons are very valuable comrades, ~~KKK~~ Don D's loyalty to the party is unquestionable. His financial contributions are real sacrifices and are not matched by many comrades in the entire party. In my opinion Don B has real potentialities as a political person if we could only solve his personal problems. And we have to take them as they are and use them as they are for the cause. I know that the party has to try to develop them, attempt to shape them so that they can and will be even more useful than they are but this job has to be done mostly by themselves, thro experience, through seeing other examples. The conscious attempts to reshape comrades have to be subtle and above all patient. And after a while we may have to come to the conclusion that the party at the present stage of affairs may be getting all that can be got from various comrades. I am more or less convinced that on the present basis of possibilities for work, level of class struggles, etc that nothing much more can be done with either of these comrades and that we have to take them as they are, not be too critical, ~~ANY~~ set our sights for a shorter range.

Don B is willing to do sub work, good, go with him, tell Don you are going, arrange it so he can go with you, he knows that he should, but if he tries to wiggle out of it let him, don't create any scene, don't give him a lecture on the need, on what his responsibilities are in this respect, he knows them as well as any of us. Tell him how you made out, who and what kind of workers you met etc but don't nag him if he did not go out with you. Then arrange another one if possible at a time and in a place suitable to him.

Unfortunately Barry is working a full time job at Canada Packers for a while to accumulate some money for clothes etc or I would suggest that he go down for a week and give you a hand on sub work. Set yourself a modest sight. You know you can't do all the work. We will just have to operate on the basis of sub in the knowledge that there are only two comrades in Windsor or perhaps two and a half. On the basis of funds we will have to operate the same way.

Now, what about yourself. I can appreciate that it is not a very satisfactory way to have to work. To subvert your natural reactions on such party tasks and comrades response to them is very trying and doesn't come natural to a real revolutionary. We are used to saying pretty well what we think to one another, no fakery, or gloss. How do you feel personally about your work in Windsor. Are you personally satisfied. I know that it is much more pleasant to work in a place like Toronto or Vancouver where we have comrades who are enthusiastic about party work and where you can strike up a certain satisfactory personal relationship with some comrades. We have a core of four or five comrades in Vancouver who are always on the go. The other day they took the Fourth International down to a pullman porters union meeting and sold a couple of copies, they go to CCF open meetings, raise questions take the floor etc. It is too bad we haven't as yet struck anything like that in Windsor.

If I thought that all this was having a real demoralizing effect on you are a revolutionary I would not hesitate to suggest that you come back to Toronto. I wish you had some other interests that could take all the edge off this until the situation starts moving for us there. I have no other real interest but the party but here in Toronto I am able to satisfy this interest as we have a branch and I have more than a thousand things to do handling the national office. If you are not too dissatisfied if you do not find your relationship with the Don's too trying then I think you should by all means stay in Windsor because I am convinced that we have great possibilities there, we only need one or two breaks and the change in the climate that we know is coming to really start to go to town. We need Don B there too as he has a valuable theoretical knowledge. With you there we have the potentialities of a branch there.

But if you think it is too tough on you say the word and we should talk it over. If you came it would be best to pull Don B also, and Don D if he would come, which is fairly doubtful.

I did not know that Barry suggested that Don D write the article. I was under the impression that he asked Don B. I am sure it was only a slip. I would never ask Don D to write as I know he finds it an impossible task and it is just no sense to ask a comrade to take on an impossible task unless there is someone who he is willing to work on it with in close and friendly collaboration. Received both articles on the very last day and had to do a hurried up job of combination. What do you think of the result? One thing that had me in knots over them was the question marks in the margin. If there is any doubt about anything like that you fellows there have to make the compromise, either arguing it out and convincing one another or if that is not possible to skip that whole aspect of the question. When I meet them in an article and know nothing about the situation I just don't know what to do.

You know you and Don B working over an article that has to be sent in would be one of the best ways of having discussions on problems confronting us there.

Resigning
-3-

I am not going to say anything on the McCord development other than to say that it might be a good idea to get Don eased out of all the responsibilities that he has on his shoulders. I don't think resigning would be it probably better to ease out more graciously. But you know I have always felt that Don is too much of a syndicalist, too much of just a trade union militant. Possibly you could provide him with more political reasons why it would be beneficial for future developments, himself and our work for him to ease his way out. Perhaps explaining to him along the line of how we are captives of posts and subject to forces over which he hasn't the slightest control without previously having built some rank and file support. How he should have time in this period which is not too profitable for our work to study educate himself from that excellent library that he owns so that when things really get moving he will be able to take things in his stride.

When are you having your holidays, Are you taking them here or at the SWP summer camp? or what ????

Haven't sold the car yet by god. Did not get much of a response a few weeks back. Put the ads in again and have come down to 1250. If this doesn't do it I intend to take the car around to some used car dealers.. The only real response we got was the first answer to the ad months ago.

warmest regards

Ross

July 3, 1950.

(D. mte)
Dear Murray,

Enclosed is a communication dealing with the

imminent American expedition of young workers, etc., to

Yugoslavia. Heard you were thinking of quitting your job and going to Europe and thought you might appreciate first crack at this proposition. We would like to try to get one of our own people to go, and may well be able to, as we have succeeded in making important contact of a preliminary nature with ~~xxx~~ leading Friends of New Yugoslavia partisans in Toronto and Hamilton. We will endeavor to get a local committee established, (you will note this as an objective- an immediate one- of the Titoist organization in the enclosed letter)- and perhaps achieve representation on it; in which case the chances of getting the green light for one of our own would be exceedingly bright. Needless to say, this achievement would give us a forceful entree into the Yugoslav movement, since the brigadiers will be leading propagandists for future brigades and for the new Yugoslavia generally. The Yugoslav movement here, from the preliminary contacts Ross has established, is on a very low political level, more nationalist than political, like ~~xx~~ left-Zionism; mainly adult and non-integrated in the Canadian labor movement. Still, as we know, it presents one of the most fruitful avenues of work; besides which the Yugoslav issue is of course the open sesame to united front work with CCYM groups, and other organizations representative of the political Canadian labor movement. Ancomrade who has been to Yugoslavia, to sum up, would be an invaluable asset- all of which it is needless of me to tell you. It will take some time to make passport arrangements, etc., assuming acceptance by the committee- so thinkit over in the next few days; as a matter of fact, in the next day or so after you get this letter, as Ross is in contact with the Yugoslavs and we need to know ~~xxxxx~~ who's going to be our nominee.

Comradely,

July 5, 1950 ✓

Hi Bebe, with
Dear Jean;

I am enclosing a copy of ~~the~~ a letter I sent off to the SWP this morning for your and Murray's information. Would you send it back to me at once as it is the only copy I have.

I know I shouldn't send you this pack of receipts at the time that I want to find out the score on the IS's appeal for funds. But what is the situation? You know I should have sent them the money today to get it in their hands by the deadline. Have we got pledges that are not yet collected on? If that is the hold-up, send me what you have and I will advance the pledges from what little funds belonging to the NO that we have on hand. Or is this last \$17 per chance not sustaining but to go to the international in answer to their appeal.

Let me know the score at once will you

comradely

Ross
R+oss

July 7, 1950 ✓

Windsor

Dear Comrades;

There are several matters I want to take up with you but there is a special project underway that needs immediate attention so I will limit the letter to this.

Possibly Dan B has heard via the Us that there is a Youth Brigade in the process of formation in the United States. Its purpose is to send American youth, worker and student, to Yugoslavia to work about two weeks on a university construction project, to tour the country for ten days and to return to tell the truth about the struggle of the Yugoslavs for socialism. Brigades of this character have been and are continuing to be formed in France on a large scale. The first American one is to leave New York July 25.

In the past week with the aid of a list of names that we obtained from the SWP of Canadian Yugoslavs who have written in to the Titoist Novi list we have attempted to contact Canadian Yugoslavs with the aim to help them to organize a Canadian Youth Labor Delegation not only to send youth on this trip but to set up a permanent front to which the CCYM, Poale Zionist working class cultural and political organizations could attach themselves to for future brigade work and eventual solidarity organization work with the Yugoslav revolution.

We managed to meet three of them one in Hamilton and two in Toronto. The leader of the group which only exists in a very nebulous ~~NY~~ state gave us the deep freeze although the Hamilton fellow was very friendly. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ It looks like we are not going to get very far in the immediate future unless we strike on a real good type amongst those names. You have a couple, how did you make out? Possibly it will require a little pressure from the Yugoslav delegation in Ottawa or the inspiration of work being conducted in the U.S.

At anyrate here is the situation. It looks like we will not be able to get anyone on this first brigade by limiting ourselves to working through the Canadian Yugoslavs. We want someone on this brigade if at all possible. It would be a terrific experience for any comrade both politically and personal. The fellows who go on this trip will be the nucleus of the organization that will arraign next years, they will be in very close contact with the very large and solidly proletarian Yugoslav Canadian working class... through banquets and meetings they will be placed in contact with whole layers of radical workers. I have written NY to see if we cannot get someone or more on this trip. I am writing you before getting their reply as the time is short to get passports etc as the boat leaves July 25.

Can one of you guys go. They ask the brigadders to pay boat fare and transportation to NY. I think ~~XX~~ the fare is \$350. However if anyone is unable to pay part of it and possibly any of it the Friends of New Yugoslavia are raising funds to subsidize him. That is all it would cost as you are working your bed and board for two weeks and the tour is paid for by the Yugoslav youth movement.

Think it over in the next few days. Then let me know. By then we should have the details of how we are to go about it from NY.

It would be a terrific experience for anyone of you.

In the meantime also try to take off ~~my~~ Sunday afternoon to go around to see those Yugoslavs. Be very casual, friendly, dont ~~pl~~sh them politically. Most of the Canadian Yugoslavs are not really integrated in the Canadian labor movement and many of them are nationalists in reality. Find out waht you can from them what they are doing ~~XXXXXX~~, whether they have an organization, whehter they distribute the paper Novi List, whether they are making any attempts to counteract the Tribune and Stalinist language press slanders against Yugoslavia. Offer to help them. Possibly they know about the brigade going to Yugoslavia, they would certainly know about the Paris brigade as it has been reported in the Yugoslav Fortnightly. The US brigade has not yet been reported anywhere yet so first raise it from the point of view what a good idea it would be. Explain to them how it is necessary to take the Yugoslav struggle to the Canadian labor movement...etc.

Let's know how you make out.

Hugh----sold the car for 1250. Thought you had better know if you were planning to use it or the money for anything.. It is in the bank. Send us instruction how to handle it or leave it till you come in for a holiday. Are you guys coming in over the August holiday?

comradely

Ross.

July 21, 1950 ✓

McLeod, etc
Dear Jean;

Just a letter to clean up some odd s and ends

Am enclosing a peice clipped from a letter that Ruth ~~sent~~ sent me some while back ~~about~~ Do you know the girl. Do you get down Quebec way at all. She may well be worth following up.

I see Boyer has been released from prison. What do you think of the idea of going around to see him. A man of considerable intellectual integrity, moral courage. Recent developments in Europe, Yugoslavia, his own experiences may make him amazingly receptive to our ideas

Thanks for the clipping on Yugoslavia and the Korean war. It is in complete contradiction to all other items appearing in the press so I would gather we dont have to give any weight to it. A few days later the New York Times via the Globe and Mail reported that the official press in Yugoslavia was only carrying news reports and studiously evading comments etc. Not suprised that the official press doesn't commit itself at this period of ticklish negotiations but I am hoping that sections of the semi-official press would take a stand at least as far left or critical of UN and Wall Street as the Yugoslav UN delegates. The Yugoslav leadership are still mumbling about peaceful co-existence of the USA and USSR and Yugoslavia's middle way as a peace force.

In the Lenin-Trotsky days the Comintern and CP press used to speak out very ~~loud~~ clearly even when the government had to speak more mutedly

Have entered the subs and I bleive that the national financial report correctly records recent financial contributions from ~~Montreal~~, Enclosed are a few recent receipts.

I am also sending you the original and only copy of a resolution that the Vancouver comrades have sent in. I have just written Reg to find out if they have anything in mind when they suggest this coming Spring, are some comrades fairly sure that they would be available then while not now. That would seem to me to be the only basis for paying any attention to their recommendation. The resolution is a complete surprise to me. Reg has written nothing in in expalanation at all, ~~immediately~~ my impression was that he had agreed to our recommendation for the two conferences to be held this fall. In so far as the convention documentation is concerned I still think there is time. If nothing unforeseen comes up next week I hope to be able to write off the CCF documentn. How are you and Murray making out with your documents

Raised the Vancouver resolution in the branch to see what the Toronto comrades think and particularly since Vancouver specifically asks that this statement be made known to the party. No one had much to say but Joe. He agrees with Vancouver, despite the fact that just 5 months ago it was Dowson that did not want a convention. Money, ability of persons to get down to the convention all these are just petty details. He ridiculed the idea of two conferences. However no one paid much attention and I told the comrades that I was writing Vancouver to see if the a tuation was to their knowledge really going to be improved from the point of view of sending delegates this coming Spring. If they have no real assurance and it is just a suggestion of postponment flowing from their general attitude that a convention is really not necessary in the light of its considerable difficulties then in my opinion we should go full steam ahead with the plans for this Fall

Send the resolution back to me ~~XXXXXX~~ with your next letter

Myrtel Morrison was down at the office the other day. Barry met her at the Packing-house office where she is working for the summer. She appears to be in quite a quandry, really torn up about the Wall Street course of the Coldwell leadership and tends to be moving towards Stalinism....had along discussion with her and a left wing contact of hers about the proletariat and the inspiring example of Yugoslavia. She is quite cynical about the workers as a class however her reaction was quite favorable after the discussion. I gave her a little hell for her tendency to wards Stalinisms....after all that she has seen after all the reading she has done. To a large extent I believe it has to do with her personal experiences, life. ~~XXX~~ I urged her to join our party, to come down again and talk things over with us. Sent her the latest copy of Socialist Outlook this morning. What is most interesting is the response she got to a call she sent out for a meeting of dissatisfied CCF ers. She sent out about 18 invitations and 28 persons turned up. I gather the gist of the discussion was which side are we on Wall Street or the Kremlin. Barry raised the idea of doing something about setting up a Friends of Yugoslavia Committee as in the BLP and has urged her to hold another meeting. I am trying to get invited to speak at the next meeting.

Nothing more on Yugoslav work. Went to Hamilton last Saturday to do sub work in the Yugoslav area but not with much success. Too many foreign workers Poles, Ukrainians etc who don't read any English or are afraid. Only hit one Yugoslav. Got three subs. Hope to cover a couple of more names we picked up from the pages of Novi List, this coming week. Intending to write Reg to see what he thinks of the idea of approaching Young, Cameron etc to set up something like the Anglo-Yugoslav Friendship group in the BLP. Too bad about the Brigade not going over from New York. This would have been a big boost in doing something in this field but maybe this might work. It would certainly aid us in the struggle against Stalinism in the CCF--the last Tribune carried an article by Smith redirecting the party to CCF rank and file contact work. And of course it will be further the campaign to win support in the ranks of the international proletariat for the Yugoslav revolution.

Will be sending a W.C. letterout as soon as I hear from Reg about the convention

comradely

Ross

July 27, 1950 ✓

- M. Z. (note)
Dear Jean;

Just a line to let you know that you are right about May sustaining. Checked the books. Dont know how I made the mistake on the tally. Have corrected the copies that hadn't been sent out.

I was hoping that that was another ~~XXXX~~ 30 dollars turning up for us. But just a bookkeeping error.

Enclosed is a very fine press release got for us by the Nancy couver comrades. You can keep it. Will no doubt have some top flight material for the next issue and for our evaluation of the CCF and its development.

Also sending you for a quick glance a copy of a resolution that Joe presented to the branch last night. Fortunately it was defeated but only a by slim margin. In the process our Comrade Joe made the announcement that I was and had said repeatedly ~~opposed~~ to the holding of a convention.

Dont know what we are in store for, but if it starts to open up again we must not delay in bringing you and Murray in. We have two new comrades who Joe is working hard on, wining and dining, pandering to all their weaknesses

Will write later. Havent heard from Reg on the question as to what assurance we have that this ~~Spring~~ will see us with better possibilities for representation.

Comradely

[Signature]
Ross

August 1, 1950 ✓

Dear Murray

R, (MUR)

Just a note

Jerry Douma - youngest brother

The deadline for the next issue is August 7th.

Your series provoking a very favourable response. Why even Jerry told me the other day that he thought it was good. A reader in Windsor made some favourable comments to Hugh and gave him a clipping about race prejudice in the Holy Year Pilgrimage. I am typing this clipping up and putting it into the letters to the editor for next issue.

Enclosed you will find a couple of more items that you should find use for. Be sure to send us back all the material we have sent you that you do not use.

Hope to have the CCF document in your hands a week Friday

comradely

Ross

(J. H. Bidard, m.c.)

Just got the paper away in the mail last night---that is, the regular subscribers and bundles---we plan to send an extra 1000 to CCF names and addresses we have. Hitting the CCF hard with this issue because of the reaction to the line of the CCF leadership. They went farther than they should have and needed to. The latest issue of the B.C. CCF News letters to the editor column is jammed with Leftist protest letters. At last things are beginning to move here in Toronto. Last Sunday a meeting of 40 dissident CCFers met to form a left wing. They struck off a committee to edit a bulletin and to prepare for future meetings...the next will be two weeks hence. We had two comrades there. Tried to get one on the committee but failed. Myrtle Morrison sparked the meeting under our push and inspiration although she is not prepared to play any role in it. She appears to be frightened to death of us, the whole Left is---Trotskyism was the big issue at the convention. Lewis even characterized the SP of Gr Br pamphlet he banned to be a mixture of Trotskyism and 19 century socialism. So we are having to play show---at any rate it is only in its infancy and we can afford to at this time.

Still waiting for the Vancouver letter so that we can go ahead with the decision on the conference-convention. Joe has had Joyce give me last night a copy of the resolution that he submitted along with Trotsky's quote on referendums...he wants it to go in the bulletin. Most of the comrades won't even know what it is all about as I have said nothing to anyone other than N.C. members and the Toronto branch about the considered proposal to hold conferences. Hearing nothing from you and Murray I will proceed to put it in the bulletin. Despite the fact that it will only confuse comrades. But in this way it I think tells everyone a lot about poor Joe.

Met L, introduced him to a friend, trying to get him a job through ~~XXXXXX~~ the CCL unemployed union but with no success as yet. Also gave him the Deutsher article. Forgot to ask him to write you but will do this next time I speak to him. Had a long from personal on the spot observations contradictory discussion on the buffer countries with he and his wife.

The more Europeans I meet the more I like Cannonism. His definition of Marxism is as broad as a barn door--he rejects the Leninist conception to take in his stride Kautsky, Shactman, Deutscher, Stalinism and so on. Interesting ~~material~~

Will write Ruth about that girl in the union office.

Glad to see we are going forward with the French Canadian document. I had hoped to polish off the CCF one a week or so ago but couldn't make it before the paper. Will pick it up next week if I don't go off for a week holiday

Well if the Stalinists adventure inot the bush doesn't drive that doubtly gang of red baiters who run the IMA into action it is hard to believe that the Quebec woodworkers will be organized before the revolution. Walsh's attempts should really drive the IMA into action. Good Good. Sorry but I don't know anything about this Abitibi subscriber other than the fact that he has subscribed for years...almost since the beginnig. He sent in a letter once telling us that he did not have any money to renew his paper sub but he wanted it to keep coming and would we trust him. I wrote a letter back trying to make contact but with no result. He later sent in some money.

Re Yugoslavs----nothing new other than it looks like they cut Barry off their mailing list. I got him to send them \$2 for a sub to Novi List. We want it to get names and addresses. Since then he hasn't received any of the material that they used to send him for free. Morin from whom you are attempting to get the list played an extreme right role in the CCYM convention. He was here for the meeting of the CCF Left but I gather expressed his opposition to such a development. He may ask you a out various Toronto people, who is who. We are going to have to develop real security. Some stupid little things took place here in the last week and I am going to take time out at the branch meeting to say a few words about security. The Left really has the wind up about us.

Hope we can do something with the remnants of the Gagnon group. You would think that Yugoslavia would have had some real effects on them.

Havent heard anything more about Europeans coming here. I know that certain immigration regulations have been eased up but my impression was that it was nothing at all in reality. I only read what was in the paper. I will check

I see the antiwar spirit is blossoming out in Quebec, along with a program against the Baptists. The Social Credit seems to be really making hay. ~~There is a lot of antiwar feeling in Quebec and it is spreading.~~ Be sure to send us a copy of anything you intend to put out. I think it would be a good idea to issue a statement in the name of the party even if we are only able to circulate it through the mails. "o we have a good mailing list. I think in many ways it would only be making the record but it is sometimes good to do that if you cant do more. I suppose we could put it out with a minimum of risk. At anyrate our facilities here are always available.

Will write later in the week

comradely

September 5, 1950

Dear Murray and ~~Murray~~ Grenier;

First the coming issue of the paper.

Deadline is this coming Monday Sept 11

Of course we are expecting the next ~~inst~~ instalment of the Vatican and World Affaires. We continue to get favourable comments on it. I think that the French Canadian lead on the last one was really good....about payment in prayers etc. Hope we can write two or three on French Canada and the Catholic Church. I happened to be reading a review of The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada by C.L. Cleverdon (a new book) The review mentions the Catholic bishops' opposition to franchise for women...if you have time you might look it up.

How about giving us a three page article on the Tramway strike. It would be particularly timely for this issue now with all the talk about compulsory arbitration following the railway strike---the Montreal workers defiance of the Quebec compulsory arbitration. I don't want more than three---I guess you can make it in that alright Grenier, eh!

If it wasn't for the Trotsky memorial issue and the King article to which we are committed I would ask you for one on the French Canadian reaction to Korea but let us leave this until the next issue when I will write you.

I am enclosing a special report on developments in the CCF left. It contains about all I know...Reg is writing me shortly more details. Well it looks like the actual formation of a Left Caucus is finally pushing the Vancouver branch to take the CCF seriously. Relieved that the Left didn't ~~leave~~ at this time for I am convinced that we would never have made the maneuver that I was urging in my letter to the Branch should that take place. However as you will note from the enclosed the branch is now making big efforts to make contact with the Left. Our one comrade who was in attendance at the B.C. meeting has been instructed by the branch to bring his membership up to date so that he will be able to get into such meetings in the future. I gather that the concentration is to be in the CCYM. No doubt Young and Smith are very much frightened of us, afraid that the Left Caucus will be labelled Trotskyist. As you know many of our Vancouver comrades are very well known as Trotskyists in CCF circles and no doubt these facts have buttressed Vancouver's tendency to ~~be standoffs~~ be standoffs about doing anything with the CCF. However The Labor Day School may have got a fair response, more than I tend to believe that it would. At anyrate I believe that they are making a decisive turn to the CCF. Why even Joe is now in favor of fraction work as you will see from his next document after we get it on stencils and mimeographed.

No doubt it would be very good for the party, for our CCF work for everything, to have you Murray go to the Coast and I am strongly in favor of you making such a trip. However is it not possible that it may be even more valuable and necessary this Spring. As you say in your last letter this Spring we still may not be able to have a real convention. Suppose as is possible only one comrade and again possibly one of the younger and inexperienced comrades is able to get down here. It would be much more valuable then, almost essential then that a trip be made to the West by one of the leading comrades. Since the Left Wing Secession didn't come off I think the edge for the trip has been taken off somewhat although no doubt it would still be invaluable for the party. But it may be better to work through till the spring, we will have the documents out for the convention, a tour by you could be a real inspiration for the party.

Incidentally Grenier I am writing an article on Statism in the TDs. Would you put me down a couple of hooking facts on their treacherous role when the workers gave Haddow the thumbs up at Candair — send as soon as possible

comradely

Ross

Due date only necessary

September 21, 1950 ✓

Windsor Branch

Dear Comrades;

I am enclosing with this note the recent letter we sent out on the financial drive. I believe this is your copy that Hugh accidentally left here along with clippings etc. Got off to a good start in Toronto last night with Ed pledging \$100 and so on. We know that you in Windsor will do the usual good job on this.

I am enclosing a letter that we received the other day in the ~~mail~~ mail. The writer sent a sub along with the letter. Of ~~course~~ course we are not going to publish it---it is rather stupid. I am sending you the letter in the belief that one of you may know the fellow. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ He is a CCYMer or at least he is on the CCYM list that we have. If it were n't for that fact I would say toss it in the garbage but in view of the fact that he is a CCYMer it might well be worth it to drop around to see him. Try to straighten him up....I doubt if we could have any kind of success in thistry to find out who he knows .

Would you tell us what progress has been made with the Yugoslavns whose names we sent you. I seem to recall that we gave you another name since your first report of your first visit to one of them. This is important work which even one comrade can carry out and should be followed up. As the enclosed letter explains this work requires a great deal of patience, is rather slow because of the confused nature of the Friends of New Yugoslavia etc. It would be well if and when we come across one of them that is sufficiently friendly to invite us in and let us talk to him (as the one you first reported on did) that we made a sort of schedule of visits....that we regularly visited them. Incidentally we have on hand several different pamphlets in the Ukrainian language by the Old Man. Many Yugoslavs read Ukrainian. You might find out if any of these do and we would send a few copies. We might also try to sell them some of our English literature if the read English.

Hugh tells me that Joan is on the verge of joining the party. Excellent. Take her in at once. This will make the transformation that we have been so eagerly looking for---the transformation from a few individual comrades into a branch of the Revolutionary Workers Party...the Windsor branch. With this qualitative change taking place a new horizon open up for us. My impression was that she is an excellent type. Well now we will have the branch that we have been trying to build---regular meetings, rounded discussions of our trade union work, a real participation in sub campaigns, classes and so forth. With this not only will we become a more knit together group but we are much more attractive to the various sympathizers we have around---of course I am not referring to Joan's pleasant smile etc.

Have you had a discussion on our Fall work yet. I assume we are going ahead with a class as we did last year, only bigger, better, than ever of course. With Joan there with us the class will be bigger and better than ever

Of course we must immediately get to work and educate her---there is nothing like a class to educate her and assimilate her into the party. No doubt there are several workers who would attend such a class, as many if not more than we had last year.

I would suggest, particularly since we will have Joan, that we have the class on our party what it is, what it wants, where it comes from. This would be of first rate interest to many of our contacts. You know one thing you can't help feel about such cities as Windsor and Detroit is the lack of real genuine political consciousness. The union overwhelms everything, and many of the best elements are little more than trade union militants with no theory or perspective. The workers movement has its great ups and downs with a very little stable core that has a genuine understanding of the problems and tasks of the workers, that has a revolutionary perspective. It would be very timely to talk about politics, revolutionary politics, and the revolutionary party.

This could be done in a dozen different ways. You might take the histories of the four internationals...the struggle and the need for an international, a world, party.

Trotsky once said ---Proletarians of both hemispheres

The First International gave you a program and a banner
The Second International raised the widest masses to their feet
The Third International gave the example of revolutionary action
The Fourth International will bring final victory.

Why there is the line up right there if you want. Or you could give one on the Fourth International alone....its early struggles, its program right up to our party.

There are no end of possibilities or variations.

Whoever takes the class, drop us a line, we can talk it over and we will send you all the material you will need. There is lots and the class should require an exhausting amount of work to line-up and give, How about you taking it Don B.

Greetings to our Windsor BRANCH

comradely

Ross

No doubt Joan would make a good secretary. I nominate her for the next meeting.

September 22, 1950 ✓

Henry Mason
Windsor, Ont.

915 Albert Rd

Dear Friend;

We have received your letter addressed to our WORKER'S FORUM column.

We do not feel able nor called upon to publish your letter in our columns. Our columns are wide open to our readers however we do feel called upon to set certain limits---as you know our paper is quite small and space is at a premium.

Your letter is much too long for publication as it stands. We have followed a policy of not cutting letters to the editor so that the author will not think that his contribution has been censored.

We are also of the opinion that your letter is quite confused, incorrectly interprets the material it deals with, fails to establish any valid points----and therefore regardless of our agreement or disagreement would be an addition in no way to the paper.

The items appearing in Labor Challenge which you dispute do not in any way attempt to deal with Catholicism as such...with its ~~religious~~ religious teachings. This is the plane of your arguments. They deal rather with its social-political role.

To understand the Catholic hierarchy's social-political role which is clearly revealed in its open support of the fascist butcher Franco and its sponsoring of power caucuses in the trade unions which divide the workers along religious lines it is not necessary to agree or disagree with the religious teachings of this section of the Church. I think you would agree that only a very naive person would accept the Liberal or Progressive Conservative parties on the basis of what their demagogic party manifestos say they are. But it appears to us that you do just this when it comes to evaluating the social-political role of the Catholic hierarchy.

Your comments such as "the theory of evolution which says we all evolved from Adam(as the Church teaches)" only further confuse the issue. The Church, no Church, teaches the theory of evolution in any form including evolution from Adam as you put it, but teaches divine creation while this is aside from the real question at dispute I think you will

agree that it only throws confusion into the dispute.

Speaking for our contributor Dan Parker I am sure that he would not be at all interested in debating the subject of Catholic philosophy either in Windsor or Toronto.

We would suggest that if you are interested in carrying this dispute further that you take it up on the plane that it is dealt with in the pages of our paper. In the latest issue of our paper we are closing off this series with an article on the hierarchy's role in the trade unions. We would be pleased to carry a letter in our columns which would dispute this article on the social-political plane.

fraternally

Paul Kane

October 1, 1950 ✓

MBedard
Dear Jean and Murray; *Down* (MRE)

Enclosed is a letter that I am sending out to the branches on the convention. I hope you find it OK. I do not think it necessary that any thing more be said about Joe's infamous charges against the N.C. on this question.

I suppose you have received the bulletin alright. You have no doubt noted that it is not just a rehash of a lot of simple ideas that everyone knows and permeate the trade union articles in the paper...there are some very stupid and false ideas put forward...that one that I pointed out where he says that the workers are ready to hit the bricks but for their lack of confidence that their present leadership could lead them in anything. There are also a host of factual ~~XXXX~~ errors particularly when he comes to deal with the Stalinists at Peterborough and Trail. In so far as Toronto is concerned we can let the bulletin go by unnoticed. But for the rest of the party I don't know. I think we should leave it alone for the time...generally speaking I am of the opinion that everyone will ignore it. We can wait anyway until we hear from some of the outside points, particularly from Reg about Vancouver reactions.

I am enclosing the material that you sent ~~home~~ ^{here} Jean on the History of the IV International. I have glanced over it again and I am of the opinion that it is not really what we want. We should in my opinion start a series on the History of the Fourth International but it should not be so theoretical ~~XXX~~ more a story of our origins, development, experiences up until now. Primary material for such a series would be Ten Years by Schachtman, History of American Trotskyism by Cannon. The first one could well make use of Frank's material, the need for a party, the first and second International etc but I think it should really get down to detail with the history of the ~~XXXX~~ Third International, the origins of Trotskyism in the rights with Stalin etc with the last two or three on Canada. This would be quite a job but I think ~~XXXX~~ well worth our efforts. We could set it up so that we could at a later time publish it as a pamphlet. No doubt there are slabs of Frank's pamphlet that could be slapped in.

I think you should take on that project there. I think that the arrangement on the Catholic hierarchy proved that such serial & general educational projects can very well be handled by persons outside of the N.O. I know that you are busy with the French Canadian document and that you do not have too much time after work ~~XXX~~ so we can let it ride for a couple of issues while you get right down to work linking it up and getting a good head start. I do not believe that it is the big job that it may appear to be in view of what has already been written and could be slugged in or condensed. I would like to start it off just as soon as we can say the December issue at the latest.

Did you have anything in mind for this issue? We can get by without having you write anything. I myself don't know of anything we need to carry from Quebec unless there is something of value on the Textile struggle. Let me know if I am to expect anything as soon as possible. Deadline is this

coming ~~MONDAY~~ Monday morning. We are going to try and catch up with international material that has been squeezed out of the last few issues with this issue.

Will write later

comradely

A stylized handwritten signature, possibly reading 'Ross', written in dark ink. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Ross

How are we coming on the financial drive?

October 3, 1950 ✓

(Dowson, Windsor)
Dear Hugh

Received the clippings you sent this morning. That is an excellent photograph of the Ford guys coming out of the plant. Could we get a copy of it for this coming issue of the paper?

I wonder if one of you, perhaps one of you is working nights and could go down to the Star tomorrow afternoon, could get us a mat of it. No doubt the Star has a mat service and would sell us one. It would cost about \$1.50. Say it is for Labor Challenge and send it onto us as soon as you can. ~~WE~~ We are going to go to press early next week.

Received your report of the meeting of the branch. Not going to say much in this note but I wonder if ~~TEX~~ you have ever thought of ~~going~~ speaking to Cochran or Genora about the Windsor situation and trying to convince them to send over a comrade to sit in on our meetings. We have never asked much of the SWP and I think they would be quite willing to see that some able comrade who has prestige and the respect of Don and Don would do this little job. We wouldn't expect the comrade to do any work in Windsor but just to come over, sit in on the meeting, ~~give~~ the meeting the benefit of his opinion on various projects etc., I think this would go a long way in improving the situation, bring Dotzert out to discuss his trade union problems, create a real branch feeling etc. It shouldn't be hard to convince Ernie, or Al of the great value that such a small contribution would be, now that we have Joan in the branch.

I gather that Ernie and others come over every once in a while. You could phone one of them and get them across to place this proposal. Or if you would prefer I will write them.

Will write shortly

comradely

Ross

(J. M. Ireland, 1902)

Enclosed is the list that you sent for Ken to look over. Doesn't look very promising does it. Let's hope that the persons whom he doesn't know are somewhat better. I see that they are all CCFers or CCYMers. Do you get the CCF Quebec paper ~~Regnum~~ Debout. There was a report in the B.C. CCF NEWS of the Quebec provincial convention. It appears that they are going to make a new and real effort to reorganize the CCF-CCYM. A Francis LeRoche is ~~CCF~~ president and a Marcel Lefits, organizer

Here are the receipts for the money you have sent in so far on the financial drive. Will be sending a report out tomorrow or the next day-- but we seem to be doing not too badly and if things turn out as you think in Montreal I do not doubt that we will make our objective, perhaps even oversubscribe it. Very glad to hear about Ron J's attitude. Could this be that we are going to re-establish our old relationship. Excellent.

I see Archambault polled a miserable vote of 400. Did he put on a big campaign with the LPP's help, did Le Devoir support him? If they did it would certainly seem to me to be a very poor showing and together with Lendereau's comments to you of a few letters back about the state of the traditional Fr Cdn Anti-war sentiment, very highly significant. What kind of district is Sainte Marie--working class, middle class or what? Of course the period isn't conducive to any real anti-war feelings developing. There is a feeling of unease but there are lots of jobs, people are busy trying to build a house, a refrigerator and the Korean War is "Settled" without it coming over endangering our homes. etc etc. What role do you think the church played in the elections, very important? With the dissipating of French Cdn national consciousness is there a gradual dissipation of the traditional anti-war sentiments?

I note that Archambault was an ex-CCFer and that the secretary of the Bedford Local No. 1, provincial vice-president of the CCF is disgusted with ~~the~~ CCF policy. ~~What is the basis of the latter's dissatisfaction, is it the pro-war line as it is with Archambault. How did we make out with Bedford?~~

What do you think of the idea of our publishing a statement in French of the RWP position on the war danger and how to fight it and circulating it as far and wide as we can via the mails. I agree that a mimeographed paper is much too big a job for our forces down there and from what we can get out of it at this time. But I think it would be good if occasionally we took time ~~to~~ to prepare say a sheet $\frac{1}{2}$ half the size of the Militant printed on both sides on some really big issue...like Korea and the war. You could print and mail it to 1000 persons for about 50-60 dollars. It would take up the line of the LPP, its present policy and its betrayals of 1939-45; the CCF M.P.'s sell-out, our record etc. I think it would be a good idea to prepare one and keep in mind the idea of putting one out whenever we think there would be a genuine interest. We could get it done here if you could send us the copy or could translate for us anything we would write from this end. It would be a bit of a financial drain but ~~we have to do it~~ obviously Labor Challenge doesn't meet the needs of Quebec, although I don't think it does too bad at this stage. Besides if it appears that Ken and other are -

prepared to come across we want to give them some results.

At the moment we are discussing the possibility of going into the elections here. I don't see how it is possible with our present financial situation. As you know we owe about 700 from the drive at the very start. The branch has authorized me to find out what we can get for our public address system. Perhaps we can raise enough money from it, we don't need it as we have no car and as time passes it is suffers from obsolescence. However I think the odds are against it. It would be good this year now that Ford Brand, secretary of the TLC council is running for Board of Control but after all we are a small movement, it's not compulsory. The majority of the comrades want to go into it if we can raise the money and I have told the comrades that the N.O. this year can't afford to underwrite the ~~NFL~~ election costs from its funds

I got pulled away from this letter by the job of writing a circular letter we are sending out to NFLYers. Our NFLY fraction was expelled two weeks ago on the most fantastic charges, for Trotskyism. Doubtful if we will get anything out of it. The NFLY appears to be just a shadow. Myer has come in now and wants to talk over the question of the Young Greenwood Socialist (CCYM) ~~re-organizing~~. A few weeks ago over our objections the club was disbanded on the flimsiest reasons, couldn't get a place to meet and some of the leading elements were going to be tied up with night school. Thought it sounded fishy. Last night one of our friends in the club told us that it was all just a ruse...they are reorganizing without us. They didn't have the guts to move in on us but went through the formality of disbanding the club and re-organizing it without us.

Have to talk about our next move,

So I will have to close off

An awful pile of bulletins eh. I don't know when I will be able to get into them

warmest regards


Ross

By the way thank Murray for the jacket he sent me. Fits fine. Like the color and cut very much. Took off the two lone buttons on the sleeve and moved the front button over a place and it is made for me.

October 17, 1950 ✓

Windsor, Ont.

Dear Comrades

Thanks very much for the prompt service on the Ford stoppage cut. No doubt you were quite disappointed to see how it was used however. No fault of ours. I had intended to use it as a three column job and marked it up for our printer to be cut and mounted that way. Unfortunately one of the boys at the shop cut it at the wrong place and all we could use out of it was the two columns we did use.

Glad to see that you have made such a good start on the financial drive. As usual all the comrades are making ~~small~~ considerable sacrifice to meet our objective. And with a little extra squeeze, a few breaks, it looks like we will make our objective. We will be sending out a report in a few days. Hope you can really go to town on the few contacts that we have in Windsor, that you get results from the plans you report.

I have gone through the script you prepared for Windsor Labor Speakes. On the whole it is a good job and I hope we can submit more of them. Did this one get broadcasted. I have a few comments I would like to make which I think you should discuss.

If I had seen the script before it was submitted I would have suggested the striking out of the sentence at the top of page 3 reading; "These necessary strike actions put many brothers into debt, and wiped out many worker's savings." All very true but it adds nothing to the idea you want to put across that we don't want to wear ourselves out fighting to keep up with prices we want to establish new gains. You make this in the next sentence but this quoted sentence tends to play into the hands of those who say strikes gain nothing...and of course if it could be proved that a strike was a financial loss on a short term this would be a superficial approach to what a strike means in the education of the workers.

At the bottom of the same page you talk about the escalator clause providing automatic wage increases "which will be incorporated into the base rates...in this way it differs from the cost of living bonus that we had during the last war." But the escalator doesn't incorporate the increases into the base rate. It is something over and above the base pay, preserving it in real wages ~~and~~ fluctuating up and down with the change in the cost of living index. In this it was the same as the government cost of living bonus. It differed from the bonus in that the base pay which it supplements is not frozen except from contract termination to contract termination. The wartime cost of living bonus was imposed on a government frozen base pay. It was a bonus established by government decree not by contract between labor and employer. When the bonus came along with it came the wage freeze. It was also based on the government cost of living index which you so effectively expose further on in the script.

On page five you appear to me to take an equivocal stand on the question of the 5 year contract. I think the script should come out strongly against it. We would be strongly opposed to the freezing of the base pay, the stabilizing of the workers real wages for five years. We want to improve, to raise the base pay. I know that in this period of general capitalist decline and increasing assault on the workers living standards this remains sort of dead

a sort of academic question but I see no reason why we should not take a clear cut stand. Unless you phrase it this way to get on the air. After all the Reutherites have signed five year escalator contracts.

I don't think you ended it as well as you wrote all the rest of the scrip. Why bring up the question of "horse trades." I think it is best to just make the case as you did and leave it at that. All these other contract gains are necessary just as the sliding scale is necessary.

On the whole however I think it is a very good script and a vast improvement over the other scripts you have submitted to date. Keep it up.

Well what is the score on PAC work. Is Reaume still getting the endorsement of the UAW? This scandal should really shake his support in the unions. Went over the PAC program you have drawn up and it seems to me from Toronto here to be pretty good, covering what I can think is necessary.

I suppose in relation to municipal politics you would like to know what ~~the~~ the Toronto comrades are going to do in the coming elections. Well we are still in the discussion stage but the branch has authorized the investigation of what could be raised by selling the public address system. As you know Toronto has always turned all its funds into the NO. (like every other branch) and the N.O. has financed in good part the election campaigns from national funds. This year since we were so far in debt at the start of the fund drive we do not feel that the N.O. fund can stand such a drain. So if we can find money elsewhere we can run. The PA system hit us on the head. We have no car now and besides it is no doubt beginning to suffer from obsolescence. So we are investigating if we can get a good enough price to justify its sale. Well everything is still hanging. A rotten spot to be in when money decides such questions. But we have been living high in relationship to our income...as you know this fall we almost were unable to maintain one functionary. After all we are a small group and I don't think it is demanded of us to go into such campaigns regardless of how good they are for the party nationally and internationally. But we have yet to see what the score is.

Well what is new on the class. I was expecting to hear from one of you. It is almost November. We are two thirds way through a class here in Toronto on the State, its origin ~~and~~ development and role. It is quite good. We have lots of material we can send you so don't hesitate to write for it. I ~~think~~ still think the suggestion of one on the Fourth International is a good one and one that will interest contacts that are coming our way. After all we want to build our party and tell them what it is all about. I think it would be well if we steered away from the trade union material for a while. There is a tendency towards ~~anti~~ anti-politics in such ~~xxx~~ strong trade union centers as Windsor. Many trade union militants do not understand that the trade union struggle is limited to a struggle with only sections of the boss class and that it is necessary to struggle against the bosses as a whole organized in the capitalist state--that the workers have to seize political ~~xxx~~ power and impose their dictatorship.

Glad to hear that the Hansens are coming over. They will fill our meetings out a little, create a real branch atmosphere. Of course they may not be too familiar with the specific problems confronting us in Windsor but they will round out our experiences with theirs. As you know the American party has been a great aid to us, in the true spirit of our international never imposing its viewpoint or opinion upon us but giving us the benefit of its great well of experience.

3) It is not hard to speculate just where the Canadian section would be but for the aid, advice and encouragement of the American section and the international itself. I hope they are in a position to have comrades come over more often to give us the benefit of their ~~previous~~ experiences. Needless to say we will be responsible for all decisions are we are responsible for carrying them out on the Canadian scene.

Thanks for all the material on the Ford situation. Didn't use it the last issue as it in many ways duplicates the developments reported in the previous issue. But will do a job on the general pressure for wage increases throughout Canada (particularly Ford) for the Mid-November issue. By the way have you and criticisms or suggestions on the paper. It would be good if each issue of the paper was reviewed at the branch meeting ~~and~~ the material talked over and any criticisms and ideas forward to us so that we can make the paper as useful to the branch in its contact work as possible.

Will write later

comradely

Ross Dawson

October 27, 1950

Windsor Branch of the RWP

Dear Comrades;

I have just received a letter from Comrade Hugh which reports that on Sunday last the branch had a discussion on our attitude to the candidacy of Reaume for mayor of Windsor.

He informs us that one of you is of the opinion that we should commit ourselves to support of Mayor Reaume at a coming union meeting, that another is of the opinion that we should follow an absolutely contrary course at this meeting and that two other comrades advocate a policy of non-commitment on this question until we can come to some common political understanding

It is unfortunate that the N.O. has been informed so late of this development but I hope that this letter reaches you in time to prevent our party committing a grave political error.

I know that I am speaking on behalf of the entire party when I state that it is most necessary that the branch and therefore all its members adopt at this time the latter policy of non-commitment until we have thoroughly discussed the matter. I think that it is necessary that the will of the majority of the branch be established on this question...that the will of the majority rule and that each member discipline himself to this democratic will. Comrades, this just has to be in any movement that desires to function as a movement not to speak of a revolutionary Marxist movement...a Bolshevik party.

I think that you will agree that our branch at its present stage of development ~~and none of our comrades have~~ and none of our comrades have to publicly commit themselves at this time prior to our having a very thorough discussion on all the implications. I do not see why anyone can object to postponement until we have had a thorough discussion, taken a formal decision that will then enable us to approach the workers who know us and know our party the way we know that all party that wants to lead the workers must—~~approach them....~~ Approach them.... with a common viewpoint.

If we are all agreed on this and I am sure that we are I would like to ^{make} a short ~~contribution to the discussion that you will be having on what is involved in the endorsement of Mayor Reaume.~~

For my part ^{am} somewhat surprised that it is a subject of debate in our movement. Without being too familiar with the details of the situation I understand that Mayor Reaume is a member of either the Tory or Liberal Party machines. While he may have the ~~unofficial~~ unofficial support of one or another working class political party he does not run under their banner nor receive their official endorsement. He has received the endorsement of the UAW locals in the past. Possibly this latter factor is felt by some comrades to be the basis of why we revolutionary Marxists should endorse him.

I am convinced that it is totally incorrect to proceed to this conclusion from what is only a tactical point of consideration. We must approach the question from the standpoint of class principle. Reaume's candidature appears to me to sustain the very idea that the workers do not require representatives of their own class but can trust to so-called ~~and self acclaimed~~ and self acclaimed "friends of labor." His candidature along with Paul Martin's appears to me to be the biggest barrier that stands in the way of the powerful Windsor labor movement understanding the need of independent working

class political action.

Our task should in my opinion be— Expose the demagoguery of Reaume's claim to be a representative of the autoworkers and counterpose the idea in the union locals of independent working class political action. This could be done perhaps ~~by~~ most effectively by nominating someone like George Burt for mayor. But no matter how it is done it seems to me clear that we must oppose Reaume's endorsement, we must reveal that all his gestures towards labor are only made to catch the decisive UAW vote in Windsor and a fraudulent tri~~o~~ designed to enable him to keep his hand in the public pocket. I seem to recall he was exposed in the last year to have used information only available to him to buy up a piece of property so he could rook the Hydro. There is little question that being a chief magistrate he is up to his neck in the police graft and corruption in Windsor. ~~and~~ ^W we must clearly raise the banner of independent working class political action which it seems obvious to me Reaume does not represent ~~but~~ ^{is} the very symbol of denial of this basic principle.

We will probably fail this year in achieving our aim of ~~winning~~ ^{winning} a victory ~~for~~ for working class politics. Probably Burt will not run. He and the rest of the trade union bureaucrats are supporting Reaume or some other less astute version of Reaume. In view of the recent scandals around him it is possible that Reaume if he fails to get the endorsement of the union locals will be defeated. It is possible that some other capitalist class candidate more anti-labor TO A DEGREE will get in. But we know that if we take a correct position on this question and raise the banner ~~of~~ ^{of} independent ~~working~~ ^{working} class political action as high as we can that it can mark a big step in achieving the break away of the Windsor workers from the treachery of capitalist politics and launching them onto the road towards socialism.

Well this is a short contribution to a discussion which I hope you will be able to arrange for this coming Sunday. I know that it is a big issue in the Windsor labor movement so it is best that we come to some understanding as soon as possible. I know that as Bolsheviks, as workers who understand the essential role of the revolutionary party we will all rise to the occasion ~~and~~ accept the decision and carry out that policy as best we are able.

comradely

Ross Dowson

October 27, 1950 ✓

A Borland

Dear Don;

Hugh dropped me a line about the crisis that Don has put us in on the question of endorsement of Reaume. I immediately sat down this afternoon and addressed a letter to the branch, in reality to Don, on the need for the branch as a branch to take a stand and the individual comrade to submit to the position of the majority. The letter ends up with a complete endorsement of course of your position, rejecting endorsement of Reaume. I think you will find the letter to be conciliatory but firm--so written as to enable Don to come up to a halt, back track without losing too much face.

I gather from Hugh's letter that it is still uncertain if Don has really resigned or if he is really going to go through with his support of Reaume. Of course if he goes through with his public declaration of support of Reaume we are not confronted with just the problem of a resignation or a possible one on his part; we are faced with having to take disciplinary action against him to defend the party.

I am waiting to hear what happens at the union meeting and what results come from the letter.

In the meantime there are a couple of things I would like to say to you. I gather that you have not as yet pledged anything to the financial drive. I know from previous discussions of your feeling that you unlike other comrades have a special financial problem and of your desire to build up some kind of nest egg for security. You know my attitude to this and there is nothing more I have to say on it. But it seems to me that your continued failure to even make a gesture, a token donation to the financial drive is raising the question of no money to the party to the level of a principle.

What effect do you think this refusal, or should I say neglect, to give anything at all to the party has on Don and Hugh and the whole delicate situation that exists in Windsor.

You are the most able political person in the branch. You represent the correct ideas. But don't you think you do ill service to these ideas through your financial attitude to the receptacle of the ideas--the party.

Knowing Don do you really think he can listen to you talk about accepting the discipline of the party on Reaume, do you think he can calmly listen to and weigh your arguments about the principles involved when inside him must be gnawing away the thought that he is giving 100 odd dollars of his hard earned money to this party and you who claim to be representing it and who politically obviously is representing it ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ have not even given a token donation, made what would be understood to be a gesture of solidarity?

You will be doing the party and our ideas a big service if at the next meeting that I have suggested be held next Sunday you make a pledge to the drive....no matter how small. Believe me if I thought you would be partner to such a scheme I would debase myself to the extent of pawning for a few dollars so you could turn over something to the drive. You know of course that the money is a matter of indifference to me personally. But I hope you see the political implications of your present neglect. I am sure you can understand if you stop to think the reaction of a comrade like Don to the present situation.

I hope you are not dismissing Don and what he may do too lightly. I gather you have been talking about pulling out of Windsor and going to Vancouver. Incidentally another thing that makes it difficult to talk about party discipline to Don. Of course I am not saying at this time that it is necessary for you to stay in Windsor--I hope that we will have candid discussion on this question like Bolsheviks should before anything serious is decided. But at any rate I think you can appreciate that the whole question of a Windsor branch depending on Don's action is sort of hanging in the air. That the good work we have done

make no mistake about even if we have made no concrete gains in membership we have done good work in Windsor, is in danger of being broken off for a period, who knows how long?

I know all of Don's weaknesses as well as anyone but we must do everything to save him as difficult as this is going to be. I and I know all the comrades, want you to make every attempt to draw yourself up to this task, even if you might find it a trifle distastful. I would like you to phone Genora at once. Explain the situation to her. I know she will come immediately despite the pressure of election work. If Don can be saved your actions together with Genora's influence can do it. Get here over for the Sunday meeting. Take it into Don's bed room if necessary.

It would also be a good thing at this meeting to show that we have plans, some direction and are going forward. I have made some suggestions for a class. I gather that you understand that you are the man to handle the class. I have been expecting to hear from you on the class. What we should cover, what material is available here at the N.O.? It would be good for you to come forward with some concrete proposals at this next meeting.

I am expecting to hear from you shortly.

with warmest and most comradely regards

Ross

Saturday October 28, 1950 ✓

Montreal

(J-M Bidard,)

Dear Grenier;

You dropped me a note that you would be discussing ~~XXXX~~ the matter of a series of articles on the history of the Trotskyist movement.

What is your decision? We are holding our editorial board meeting in a few minutes and I would like to know early this coming week for sure whether we are to expect the first instalment. As you know I am strongly in favor of such a series. Perhaps you may not be ready for this issue but could make the next issue and from there on in. I think we should take lots of room to take up the history, in the process clearly showing how and the basis of the struggles step by step; Lenin urging Trotsky to join him to fight against the bureaucracy, what happened within the Bolshevik party permitting Stalin's rise, the international picture, Trotsky's New Course, Five Year Plan etc etc. It might take us 9 or ten instalments but it will be worth it. We could set it double column and save the type. In this sense I think ~~XX~~ if we agree to go ahead we should take out time and not worry about meeting a dead line.

In a short note Murray suggested that he would write up a short item on Archambault's campaign. Is there anything else developing in Montreal - Quebec that you think we could use. I am not sure but I think we will ~~XX~~ use the "Coley-Parent question in a round-up article on red-baiting in the unions which we can ~~XXX~~ write from here. Well if there is nothing else we will mark you down for the Archambault article with whatever space limitation you desire.

Will be writing again about other things over the week-end

comradely



Ross

November 15, 1950 ✓

(D. Windsor)
Dear Hugh

Read all about the battle at the Packinghouse strike in the Star on Saturday but the report mentioned no arrests. Then Lois phoned me about an item appearing in the Globe and Mail Monday. I am sending it to you for your scrap book. Didn't wire you or anything as I figured you could if necessary bail yourself out...and as a matter of fact I thought the union would look after it particularly when there was three of you.

The comrades got quite a kick out of it. That is just what Lois said when she phoned....today you are a man, now you know what it is all about

How come you used a pseudonym??? Generally not a good idea as the papers only show all the more interest in your name if and when it comes out. It doesn't hurt the strike to have a Trotskyist picked up for defending it---after all you were part of a big fracas, it isn't as if you were the only person involved and a play up of our role might isolate the strike from winning the support of other sections of labor.

I suppose the union is going to supply you fellows with a lawyer. I guess that it isn't very important as there isn't any defence if they have witnesses to testify that you threw something...or that you resisted arrest. Must have given a real lift to the boys on the picket line. I gather the strike up until then was a pretty weak one.

Received the dough. As a matter of fact I had already counted \$100 of it in the newspaper story of the status of the drive....Don's bond. Looks very good if the situation is better than it looks in Vancouver. Haven't any real notion whether the comrades have just neglected to forward the money or not! We will be able to clean up on our quota here in Toronto by next week.

Glad to hear that the personal-party situation has improved. Did Don get in touch with Genora...you will recall that he did not say that he would withdraw his resignation but would reconsider it and speak to Genora before anything definite. I don't mean by this that we should press it for it seems to me that in essence he has withdrawn it but doesn't want to face up to it....I think myself we can let it ride carry on as if the resignation never ever happened. Probably call a meeting in a few weeks assuming that he is going to be there. Do you think we would be able to start a class? Speak to Dorland about it again but don't push it too hard. If you are pulling out after Chrstians it would be best in many ways to leave things hanging with these two being in essence members at large than to push them into something where we would have a definite break with them. You know the times we are living in are not too favourable for Bolshevik discipline especially in Windsor where we have in reality no group or group feeling. We could let the m hang as members at large knowing that when conditions change they will come rip-roaring back in.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ So Don is set back a bit on Reaume because of the cops. Did you show him the PAC column in Ford Fact, the issue you sent me...~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ "...when practically single-handed he was able to keep inside and outside police forces from making any attempt to break our picket lines." Looks like the barricade and the strikers and the mood of the masses of Canada had nothing to do with it---just Reaume...re-elect Reaume and we can do away with the union---union dues, meetings etc. "Is modification of his stand at his local meeting only tends to convince me that he has changed his mind and knows he is wrong.

Will write you again shortly---want to pick up a lot of other mail

(end)

November 30, 1950

remin G. H. Richard
(Fitzgerald, Murray, etc.)
WHE

Dear G and Fitz;

Thought you would like to have a gander at the latest sheet in the comic opera that Joe is trying to make of the ~~XXX~~ party. It is the only copy I have so read it over and return it. I assume they want it in the internal bulletin. The two names are Jimmy and his wife. I gather from Kit that we are going to have the honor of a contribution from her for the internal bulletin shortly.

This is of course ~~ix~~ a move on Joe's part to try to make any action that a control commission would make, appear to be an attack on a minority group in the party. Haven't heard from the rest of the N.C. yet but will let you know the moment that we do.

In the meantime I think that it is essential since they are making so much of that colossal stupid internal bulletin ~~document~~ of Joe's (Sept 1950) that we do a real job on it. I believe that the person who has to do it is one of you, preferably Grenier. At the last branch meeting two of this group put forward the idea that CCF and trade union fraction meetings should not be attended by comrades other than those immediately involved and that they alone should determine the policy...the party just getting their reports. Joe appears to be making some progress with a caucus in his local but first report we had of a caucus meeting was three days after it was held. Last night over their opposition we forced thro a motion for a trade union caucus meeting and in the process of my making some comments on trade union tactics I had some more snide remarks thrown at me about those persons to try to run the party from an office, from books, from armchairs.

Yes, there is a fraction here...an ~~and~~ party fraction

So you see if we can have any hope of saving these comrades at all, there is no purpose of me trying to answer it or anyone in the Toronto branch. One of you has to answer it. And the more prestige that he has as a trade unionist all the better. And it can be a subtle job either. The time for pussy footing has passed.

I would like to know if you, either of you, wants to take this one?

Of course if you don't want to, I will

I have some ideas on it so if you will take on the job I would be only too glad to send them onto you. Will be writing you later...I suppose in the next day or so we will be hearing from the rest of the N.C.

comradely


Ross

December 6, 1950 ✓

Dear Grenier;

wire

Sent you the message on the IS letter to Yugoslavia as we need it right away. As a matter of fact I have been waiting for it now for about 3 days to go in this issue of the paper. I guess you haven't noticed lately but the Militant has not been carrying official Fourth International releases. I was quite sure that they were not going to carry it when I sent it. As soon as I got your note I wired Brietman and he confirmed my opinion. So ~~HE~~ would you do the job on it just as soon as you are able. We are a way behind on our deadline now.

I am not going to attempt to make any comments on your interesting letter on the convention Glad you got there OK.

But would you phone Murray. I don't see what the purpose would be of writing Joe now. It seems to me to be several months too late. It would in my opinion only go to destroy the ~~IMM~~ general conception of impartiality of the control commission. Certainly you want influence Joe to the good of the situation and do you not think that he might use such letters. I think it best not to reply to them at this stage of the game. Angus says go ahead with the control commission. I gather that he thought that there were some genuine political differences as he voices regret that it has come to a head without the differences coming forward. When do you think the commission can sit? Is Murray coming into Toronto for the Christmas holiday. You would be a welcome guest at the Dowson household at that time. I am sure Reg will say go ahead...at any rate 4 out of 5 have now oked it and I think you and Murray should now set the date. I assume the Toronto branch ~~III~~ executive will be laying charges--something to the effect of gross disloyalty and disruption of the party.

Am typing this up just before the meeting, so will have to cut it off now. I would like to give you my ideas on the reply to the document, but will do so probably over this coming week-end. Right now I want to get as much copy into the printer as I can so we can proof read and lay-out on the week-end.

comradely

Ross

December 15, 1950 ✓

(J.M. Redhead)
(Murray D.)
(M.F.)
Dear Grenier and Fitz;

Sending this note via airmail as I don't want it to get held up by the Christmas rush.

Sorry I was not able to write sooner re the reply to Joe's bulletin contribution. But if you have already written it you can look it over in the light of the following remarks. Incidentally I would like ~~it~~ have it here by next week-end so we can get it out as soon as possible. I think that it is very necessary that it get out before the Control Commission sits.

I asked Reg for the Vancouver reaction; *Here it is;*

"On this Rose racket. His latest contribution to the internal bulletin has not been finalized in Branch discussions but one could say that the reaction was; so what? in general this is but a restatement of the line the party has advanced. Why the wordage and wherein is the differentiation in outlook that has been claimed previously? The odd ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ contradictory sentences have not been picked out and, ~~as~~ I say, discussion on the document has not been finalized. However if some comrade has the time to do a chore on it it should be done—not seeking out Rose's possible motivations but an objective pointing out of its concurrence with the party line and then a summarization of its contradictory aberrations."

Here is Angus' comment; mostly to do with the idea of the control commission but it also throws some light on the problem as it is posed in our party at its present level of development;

"It seems that matters have reached a head without even clarification on the political issues."he continues; "Obviously if branch business is disrupted to the extent to mention then steps should be taken to get the problem out of the road. I believe that as in the case in Vancouver it is wiser to form a control commission with members of the Montreal N.C. If an American comrade ~~can~~ be obtained so much the better."

In answering Joe's tour de force note that he has handed me a correction; the sentence at the top of page 8 should read;

This stiffening, thanks to softening intervention of the bureaucracy, is now being witnessed in the form of unfavourable conciliation board decisions."

I make these comments ~~only~~ in the belief that you will have a better idea as to how the whole problem should be presented for the education of the party as I see it from here.

Four comrades have now endorsed this thing as their platform, the platform of a minority. Therefore if it only restates things that Labor Challenge has been saying for the last 90 issues and are common knowledge in the party the whole thing ~~can~~ only imply that the majority, or all those not in this minority, have a different viewpoint....have positions that fly in the face of the most simple ABC's of Trotskyism. After all the bull shit of the past two years, their position etc etc...we now see that if the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ document has any line at all it is only an undigested wordy confused repetition of the general line of the party.

*very
info
with
you*
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Look through Rose's previous ~~documents~~ documents. Implicit in all his other contributions on the CCF was opposition to recognition of the CCF as the political arm of labor...you might look through them closely.....he actually said it was not in the branch time and time again.

We dont have to pay any attention to what he said in the branch about the CCF, his precious documents bear out his branch statements. But now in this document he catches up to the position that I have been advancing in the party and in the pages of the paper. Far from this being a program of Rose and ~~her~~ it is a confession of bankruptcy.

Remember the IUE-UE disputehe took the stand that in principal we cannot support the IUE....capitulation to red-baiting etc etc. He made this one of the big planks in his struggle. Now he says "While it is generally correct to support the IUE generally we must understand that workers are not ~~generally~~ interested in general formulations." I know of course what he gets into ~~XXX~~ tortuous tangles in the next sentence and paragraph which leaves one knowing not what his stand is but this statement alone is a negation of the "principle" around which he tried to tie the party up in knots ~~XXXXX~~ only a year ago. A person who switches position without formally recognizing it to the party has not much Solsohevism in him.

What this document does is not declare a program of Rose but it is a declaration of his political bankruptcy. As Angus says, no one knows what the political issues are, the basis of the Rose battle. All that is left is the bureaucratic tendency--the frustration of Rose's little ego.

From the point of view of program that would be a basis for a minority we have to say that there is nothing here. But there is something here of another character. Interspersed through the document are raw undigested, undeveloped, foolish, utterly stupid ideas. If they were digested and developed they would totally disorient the party. As it is they stand out as Reg put it merely as "contradictory aberrations." There is also shown in this document ~~some~~ a complete contempt for facts. Ideas are developed from "Facts" that are not facts at all. His attempts to summarize the reaction of the workers to the Trade union bureaucrats anti-communist campaign for instance....Trail and Peterboro...~~and~~ he claims that the workers have rejected the red baiters...there is of course no truth in this. See the Laplante article for a general summary re Trail Peterboro etc. and check with the document.

What can you say for a document that simply ignores the facts. Lenin on facts, give us the facts. How can we talk without knowing the facts. ...above all theorize and orient-ourselves. Whether this is purposeful distortion or ignorance I suppose can best be ignored---however it is actually politically purposeful distortion.

What is the Canadian workers attitude and consciousness of the role of the trade union bureaucracy? ~~XXXXX~~ Is it permissible to accept his crude characterization of the role of the trade union bureaucracy in the Canadian labor movement. Obviously he merely transposes Bengough for Green and Mosher for Murray. This is in my opinion fundamentally false. The Cdn trade union bureaucracy does not play the role that the US does--- first there is the CCF and the CCL leaderships sponsorship of the Canadian Labor Party idea which makes them fundamentally different from ~~XXXXX~~ Murray. There is also the clash of the interests of their machines ...remember Bengough's fight with Green...over Cdn autonomy...could go on at some length---

Re the Cdn workers consciousness of the role of the trade union bureaucracy ~~which is~~
~~XXXXXX~~ See that fantastic ~~and~~ paragraph at the bottom of page 8... the ~~GM~~ workers are
hot for the barricades but then they stop and see their leadership and say ...not with
them will we be able to take the barricades. You know where this comes from...from a
Militant ~~intel~~ explaining the fact that the Michigan CIO council rejected the Ford or
GM contract put up a terrific battle only after a wearing down struggle with the Re-ther-
ite machine backed down...and isolated case

Let's skip through the document;

page 2 or page one of Joe's contribution

Doesn't seem to know that the CCL ~~XXXXXX~~ refused to go for the no-strike pledge.

paragraph 4 is a jem...according to this the Murrayites are to the left of the Mosherites. ^{the} Murrayites degenerated after leading class battles whereas the Mosherites from the beginning a bureaucracy which from the top went about its "reactionary" business of organizing the Cdn workers and handed their business card to King

As for the first paragraph and the comparison of the 1943 and 1946 strike figures I haven't puzzled that one out.

Let's say nothing about page 2.

page 3

according to the second paragraph the bureaucracy had a sagging and tarnished reputation which was only polished off a little by the 1946 strike

I don't know whether we want to say anything ^{about} this but the third paragraph puts forward the idea that the trade union leadership and it alone is responsible for the present situation in the labor movement...it completely ignores the objective circumstances (which of course I know the TU leadership through false and treacherous policies, are in part responsible but ~~of course~~ cannot be decisive also). For instance Millard battled against the Dosco settlement that the workers accepted. Your experience with that local of yours.

Read the line in the 4th paragraph---BOTH UNDERSTOOD HOW TENUOUS WAS THE CONTROL OF THE BUREAUCRACY OVER THE TRADE UNIONS IN 1946. We will all concede that the workers pushed the leadership...but they were able to go along, where did they lose control of it --- tell me an incident. My God the revolution is upon us.

Again on page 4 several allusion to the trade union bureaucracy in this country as being plain and simple agents of the capitalist state...as if they had no interests of their own that they are trying to protect...no dual role...as if they were not based on the workers. As if from their own viewpoint they had a purpose ~~in~~ getting rid of the Stalinists and so forth.

Page 5;; "Those comrades who think that Stalinism is the main enemy in the labor movement.....incredible...who are they? I don't know ^{what} they are doing in our party and not in the ACTU or in the camp of Mosher-Bengough. ^{on the whole} this idea is ripped out of context and probably around the question of supporting Buck against the CCF in the 1949 elections.

Top sentence on paragraph 5 page 5.....the person whose hasn't sufficiently stressed the fact that Stalinism is experiencing decline and disintegration is Rose. No one else. This appears to me to be in direct contradiction to his line on the situation in the TU re the red-baiting and struggle of the bureaucracy against the Stalinists. My line has been somewhat that of Cannon's, as you stated he put it at the convention...the Stalinists are doomed in this country...the workers are not going to go through the experience of their French brothers. This is in my opinion in contradiction to the line of Rose on Buck vs the CCF.

Incidentally this little tidbit is typical of the Rose technique of argument and I think something should be said about it...in an educational way of course. He sets up straw men like "Those comrades who think.... He also puts forward a clear line which he contradicts and completely covers over with a sentence scattered down further in the article. So that when one takes up the fundamental line he turns and says but see...look, see this sentence a way down here...

Here is the facts problem-----1st paragraph--- conservative workers and reactionary elements moved into the Horton camp aided by the Catholic church.the Stalinists however were successful in repulsing the raiders.... The Stalinists haven't repulsed the "raiders" by any means. Ed's sister works there and she supports the UE but says that she isn't at all sure which way it goes. The Catholic church supports the IUE...right but it is hardly an ACTU arrangement...Ed's sister came up here to get some Protestant antiCatholic literature for the Stalinists that are ~~pushing~~ it far and wide. Can we say that the conservative and reactionary elements are the IUE?

Paragraph 2 is a masterwork of contradiction and confusion. Is it correct or isn't it correct generally ...and if we support the IUE or Steel in a given situation is it "supporting bureaucratic expulsion, raiding and outright renegacy." ?

Mine Mill para 3. The Mine Mill workers rallied to the Stalinists...??? repulsed the raiders????

para 4 we again get that formalistic argument about the precise legal status of the Mine Mill and UE that was put over in a big way in the previous bulletins.

page 7 para 4

If anyone has argued that the TU bureaucracy is a free agent it is Rose up to this page. Now we find that there is apathy in the labor movement but see bottom page 7 and above all it flows from the trade union leadership getting concessions from the bosses...~~XXXXXX~~ or at least ~~XXXX~~ the TU bureaucracy is getting concessions ...amazing. This idea is repeated in the last paragraph---concessions ...they have been getting them in the last few years.moot point(to say the least)that they will be able to continue to get them.

page 9

Joe doesn't and never has understood the role of consciousness in the historic process ---or perhaps he does but his line flows from his unwillingness to take guidance and suggestions from anyone. para 3. "creating situations." and in the preceeding paragraph "jump over the historical process". Joe suffers from the fetish of "inevitability"---~~a tailist~~.

page 10 top of the page...."Opposition of the capitalist class to further concessions flows from a lack of faith...it couldn't be due to inability and maintain their old status; it couldn't be due to the objective crisis of capitalism. And further on----- "The trade union bureaucracy fully realizes that further struggle must pose the question of a struggle for power." Truly amazing his total lack of understanding of the role and nature of the bureaucracy...what a caricature of Marxism.

paragraph three----"Whereas the former(social democratic parties of Europe) were able to embrace large stratas of the working class and lead them into ~~XXXX~~ great class struggles..." but he says these movements grew in the period of capitalist expansion when class struggles were bought off.. he just doesn't understand the basis of the degeneration of the European SD and why the CCF ~~is~~ developing in a period of capitalist decline is going to undergo a totally different development in all probability. Here the whole thing is just switched around. paragraph 4. Just how much the trade union bureaucracy has kept the rank and file out of the CCF while fighting for its endorsement is a highly debatable point. Terms of TU affiliation are not too bad. I think we can say that the workers in Canada have shown now real consciousness as yet to really get into the CCF and control it..Generally the TU bureaucracy has played a leader role on the question of the CCF and political action...in many ways in advance of the Canadian working class as a class.

para 5. I don't think we can say that Coldwell feared activating the mass..they were not in a very threatening mood. I think we could more correctly say that Coldwell fell victim to his own fear of Drew

para 6----"the CCF is marked by historic instability"----true but not as he infers...politically, programatically yes, but not in its appeal to the masses

para 7 ---here he counterposes work in the trade unions to work in the CCF,-----we have to be in the trade unions where the masses are. But this is totally false to present it this way (Reg does this also) to be amongst the political elements in the union today and tomorrow you have to be in the CCL-PACs which support the CCF. You cannot hold a post in them if you are a member of any other party than the CCF. CCF work is not at all posed as he states "as a substitute for mass work in the trade unions." Not at all, it is complementary. page 10 A para 4 he advances the same idea---"A genuine left wing will develop only through the trade unions." ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ You will see on page 11 para 2 he again ~~XXXXXX~~ talks about the political action committees and their importance but seems to totally fail to recognize that they are CCF bodies.. How can you talk about "affiliation to and control over the CCF by the trade unions" while not a CCFer. As a matter of fact it seems to me that all rank and file comrades in the CCL unions have to be CCFers to do effective work in the CCL amongst the most advanced workers. *This should in the main be our CCF fraction*
well! that note is ~~work~~ ^{work} a book in itself.

Probably this has bored you as I see it has gone on now for five pages. No doubt you got all this but I thought you might like to get my running comment as of course I am amongst a group of comrades who I hate to report contain in their numbers a couple who are still impressed by this bull-shit. Where the problem begins Joe stops!

ay I again draw your attention to Reg's report on the Vancouver report. Some, most of the comrades say so what...dont see or at least dont understand the stupidities scattered through the document. This requires us then to be very educational, more educational than polemical. Although in my opinion the contribution must be so written that a comrade any comrade puts our document down with the conclusions that Joe Rose doesn't just know what it is all about..is a first class confusionist and is never to be taken at all seriously.

I guess that is enough on that...~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ As I ~~said~~ said before I hope you can get it in before the control commission meets and makes its decision. You know they set up this formal minority in order to make it appear that anything said about Rose's conduct is an attack against a political minority, political political political and your finding will be personal just personal, personal... I can hear it all now. This document can help destroy that inevitable campaign.

Incidentally Reg is strong for an American comrade to attend as it "will preclude any possibility of attacking the objectivity of the control commission report or cries of artisanship which might be hurled at the Montreal members." Angus thinks it would be so much the better" to have an American comrade. A couple of weeks ago Joe asked me for the address of the IS. I refused to give it to him but told him I would send anything he wanted long on his behalf. He sent a letter to Reg..Reg has yet to forward it to me but from the copy of his partial answer he has really been spreading it on. The more I think it over am inclined to say no to the idea of an American comrade even though I know I was the one to suggest it. When he attacks you two as not being impartial he is attacking the whole party. Let him do it. As for Frank's comment to Grenier, "not at this stage"...how many stages does he think there are going to be?

If you had been at the last few meetings of the branch you would not believe your ears. should tell you know that I am going to urge Joe's suspension for 6 months. It is just incredible, not only is it not possible to grow...we cannot live. Last Wednesday after being singled out for a pile of filthy abuse, Barry went home, couldn't sleep and sat down and wrote a notice to the branch that he could no longer attend the branch meetings and be responsible for any action he might take against Joe, and that he was not just able to attend until a control commission took action. Received the letter in this morning's mail but haven't seen Barry yet. Ken phoned him off and on today but no one was there. Expect to see him tomorrow. I think he has a job in the P.O. at ridiculous hours. I have taken it for two years and we should have probably moved in long ago before Vern left. At anyrate the cup overflows and this stage must be carried out

Will write further about other things Monday..... comradely

Ross

December 24, 1950

(J-H Bidard, MRE)
Dear Grenier;

Just a note to clear up odds and ends from your recent correspondence. I like to go through all the letters before placing them in the file just in case there is anything that might have been overlooked.

Thanks for the note on the translation of the word "sanctioner". Ed caught it in the proof reading. Translated the added paragraph before receiving your translation for it. I thought that the translation of the whole thing was very good but for the length of the sentences. The comrade who wrote the letter wrote paragraph-long sentences. This might be ok in French but it makes difficult reading in English. Every paragraph sentence was ~~clear~~ clear in thought to me but English speaking workers are not used to reading long sentences and paragraphs.. For instance that added paragraph was just one sentence. When I translated it I made it two and it could well have been made into three. Otherwise I thought the translation was excellent.

The document itself was very good but I thought quite repetitive. It certainly took up an awful slab of our little paper and generally speaking unbalanced it with Yugoslav material. However for the use that we made of it this did not hurt any too much. Aside from our regular readers who are fairly advanced and should be particularly interested in all the Yugoslav material the rest of the press run went to the Peace Congress meeting here in Toronto, celebrating Endicott's return. We did a very good distribution. And the material in this issue just happened to be made for the type of audience that turns up for the Endicott meetings. The Stalinists were hot as hell

Enclosing a receipt for the December 8th cheque. Is this the works now? Have we got whatever we can hope to get from the Jacques-Ken group etc? Havent sent out the final round-up letter as I am not sure about the situation there or in Vancouver. You no doubt noticed that we made our objective anyway but I was hoping that the two hundred donation we got would turn out to be pure gravy

I note that you will be here on the Jan 5th week-end. Hope you and Murray have been giving some thought how the control commission will operate. The Toronto branch executive is meeting tonight to talk the thing over and draw up the charges. On behalf of the N.C. I will draw up a letter informing the branch of the control commission sessions. While I do not think that the constitution calls for it I think we should send a letter to Joe, along the line that the N.C. has received the letter from the Toronto branch executive calling for a control commission, that the N.C. has been informed that the executive is laying two charges against comrade Rose, gross disloyalty and gross disruption and that these sessions, the hearing will be held over the week-end, precise times yet to be decided. I ~~KNOW~~ have had no experience with anything like this but possibly Fitz has. I think that it should be open to all comrades. I suppose it would be held just like a court, with you two as the judges, the branch executive spokesman laying the charges, you hearing the evidence and what witnesses you think necessary to hear. It is quite possible that Joe will present counter-charges and we of course would have to hold extra sessions to handle them. The finding could be made by you two a week or so later through the presentation of a document, for the education of the party.

I suppose we could quite well close it to the executive and Joe ~~Mac~~ and I suppose from the point of view of a controlled session and security that would be best however I am inclined to believe that we should try as much as possible to make it an education of the branch. — ~~they need it.~~

Had a discussion on Thursday on the CCF portion of the Rose document. They wanted to have one so we set aside this special night. Quite fruitless except that in the process of it Joe said the following amazing sentences the first one he affirmed twice when I asked him if I heard right;

"It is a fundamental error to think that the Cdn workers look at the CCF as their class party....The CCF signified nothing in the last federal elections...it did not signify an alternative to the Liberals and Tories...the CCF is not a class movement...the CCF is fundamentally reformist and it will never be anything else...the unions are fundamentally revolutionary."

This flowed out of a discussion on the CCF and a document which states that the CCF is the political arm of the Canadian labor movement. Myer asked him did he think that LC has been right in endorsing the CCF since 1945 and if so why. Joe refused to answer...the question is a stupid one, he said. You can see how absolutely meaningless discussions in the Toronto branch are in the light of the documents that are presented.

Glad to see that you are managing to take time to study Capital. I had such a project in mind here with the few of the more advanced comrades but never seem to be able to get the time. As a matter of fact since Barry is working we don't even have the opportunity to have the discussions on current documents and problems that we used to. Going up to see L E this afternoon. Haven't had much contact with him, usually see him on the go to some other place. Seems to be making out much better. Gave us a donation to the campaign with considerable insistence that he could do so. His wife is still at the school and he has a little better job. Appears to be doing some limited political work. Took a pile of books and sold them. Don't bother to go into any details for of course we must see them when you come in a few weeks hence.

How is Walsh's ~~EX~~ woodworkers campaign making out? The Tribune for a while there gave the impression that it was all dropping like a ripe plum into his lap. If he is making any progress we should be able to use it to pummel the fat-asses up here when you come for the conference, to do something about ~~EX~~ giving us the wherewithall to ~~do something~~ take the IWA into Quebec

Thanks for your lengthy report on the SWP convention. I have taken the liberty of sending it out to Van and P.R.. I hope you don't mind. Its character is obvious (that it is just notes) and it will be of considerable interest to them. It's going only to the N.C. members of course. Don't say much on it as you are coming in but I am particularly interested to know what they have done about security. Hope you heard everything so we can talk it over when you are here.

Haven't heard from N.Y. as to your suggestion that we have an American join in the control commission. Not surprised at E.R.'S reaction, his hesitancy it is all a nasty business and is going to be one. Of course I am in an untenable position here being the only N.C. member, it is a natural for any disgruntled comrade, but with Joe this hasn't been the problem at all, it is only dragged in occasionally. He raises it occasionally and not at all from a positive viewpoint, what can we do. As you know attempts we did make to rectify the situation such as the interim conferences which ~~could~~ have made organizational adjustments received the most vicious interpretation. There is not much time for them to contact us about this question. I am inclined to believe that they will say nothing and that we should go ahead with the

commission as scheduled. But before we make any definitive actions on the findings you will make ~~teaching~~ ^{instructing} them what we are intending to do and see what they have to say.

Hope you will have read the ~~XXXXXX~~ South American material and Chinese material by the time you arrive so we can discuss it. I don't have time to sit down and do the laborious job of reading it with dictionary in hand.

comradely

A stylized handwritten signature, likely 'Ross', consisting of a large, sweeping 'R' followed by a smaller 'oss'.

Ross.

December 26, 1950 ✓

(Murray D) (Fitz Bidand) (MTL)
Dear Fitz and Grenier;

Didn't get the letter dated December 24 quite finished and away on that day, then Christmas intervened and had to spend the day eating and talking about nothings.

Last night just before they left for home Joe handed me two lettersone for the IS and the other to the N.C. I have had to take time out to type you up a copy which I enclose.

Quite a little job. What can you say about such a document. Stupid yes. But waht an attack on the integrity of the N.C. and its appointed Control Commission and in particular the integrity of Fitz..!biased attitude involving the crudest distortions."

You see how everything has been posed here for the last two years. The entire integrity of anyone and everyone is challenged then there is a woeful wailing ~~XXX~~ when comrades react about their failure to discuss some nebulous political questions that are supposedly at dispute.

I dont think we can say anything about it at this stage. Any reply that would do the letter justice would only be used to carry forward Joe's campaign to discredit the Control commission and whatever findings it may make. Had a long talk with Jimmy on Saturday. Quite a master of equivocation but I think I shook him. Hard to say.

What does this letter mean. Will Joe accept a decision from the N.C. based on a Control Commission recommendation. Well, let him decide his own course. With him I think it is too late...I hope otherwise with him and Kate

That Grenier reply to the document is going to put the skids to Grenier as an unbiased comrade. So it goes. Have you any suggestions---as far as I can see we should go on as we have planned.

What about Barry's case? An unprecedented situation flowing from an unprecedented situation. I of course neither approved nor condemned. The incident arose from Joe saying he had no guts around a particularly vicious little incident. Barry who has kept a fairly level head, flared up, demanded a retraction, got none and went on to call Joe a sniveling rat, who for two pins he would throw out the window..Xor something to that effect. Now of course he had put himself in a ridiculous position (fortunately I have always managed to keep my head, I dont know why) Barry felt that he had fallen right into Joe's trap and into an inextricable position. Barry's letter arrived Thursday or Friday and I never heard from him till Sunday when he told me he stayed away from the executive meeting because he was afraid I would try to convince him to withdraw it. I dont think I would have because after all it is better that we have a comrade absent from branch meetings than have a case of a fist fight on our hands. Do you want to leave the situation as is? Barry would take orders from the control commission to return to the branch and I am inclined to believe that it would be best left that way. what do you have to say on this ?

comradely

*Send me back their
declaration as a minority — You have my only copy*

December 28th, 1950 ✓

remin (J-M Board)
(Liz, Murray D.)
(MTL)
Dear G and F

Received the enclosed letter dated Dec 19 today. I note that it says that a copy went your way but I am sending you mine just in case.

I want you two to make the decision and write the reply on behalf of the N.C. After all the two of you are a bit further removed and can discuss it over. I am agreeable to whatever ~~EX~~ you decide. Generally I think you must know my ~~attitude~~ ^{attitude}---I think we are big enough, and mature enough to handle a simple case like this, however then again I want everyone, everyone, without any doubt whatsoever, to be satisfied.

In my opinion the second proposal..."spokesmen of both sides to come down here and discuss and review the entire situation with us..." ~~EXX~~ is out of this world. What is there to discuss, what would be the possible base for reconciliation? I know of none. ~~EXX~~ Of course I am not saying that one could not possibly be found. But it needs someone other than me to find it...I have searched long. I myself would not go except on your advice but that does not mean that someone else could not go. This of course would be a volte face from the path we have set off on.

If you wish to get someone up here then you might suggest some comrade from Buffalo...probably there are a couple of N.C. members there...they could come over on this short notice and very cheaply.

Last night
Nothing new on the case except that J proposed two motions, one that the sessions be open to all branch members and the other that all the proceedings be recorded on the basis, as he told the branch, we "have reasons to be suspicious of the control commission." Had a discussion on the first part of the J document...the Trade union part. The more we probe around the apparent aberrations this document contains the more amazing the results. J who sees very clearly that the Kremlin bureaucracy plays a contradictory and dual role fails to see that such is the case with the trade union bureaucracy whom he says "Does not contain one iota of progressiveness.....not one half an iota." We also went through the usual falsification and absurdification of my opinion. *And they talk about developing and educating a cadre - what confusionism!*

Send me a copy of your reply. You had better make it just as soon as possible as of course there is practically no time left.

comradely

Ross
Ross

he told one of the comrades Don Muise, that he was going to quit the party if he did not get on the executive. He black-mailed Ed in that way.

There is no doubt in my mind that his perspective is taking him out of the party. He considers Vern, and everybody with an independent idea to be a liar and fool, he has disposed of the party and the idea of collective leadership. For the above reasons I have bent over backwards, believe me. I made the motion that he be trade union convenor, I make the motions that he be given educationals to put forward his ideas. Unfortunately he is such a stupid oaf that all these gestures of conciliation that are made he considers a retreat and becomes bolder and bolder. When I say I have crawled in the gutter I say so seriously, and it has been a hell of a humiliation because the person for whom it is done is such a stupid obtuse fool vain egotistical bull shitter who can't even put two ideas together and the mist unprincipled arguer that I have ever met.

After the CCF debates which took the party about 5 months to settle things appeared to have returned a little wee bit to a working basis. But last Wednesday the whole thing has burst out again. If it gets one degree hotter it is posed either he or the party to my mind. You have no idea what one persons with the egotistical vanity of that jerk can do to a party branch. We would be better off without him. As a matter of fact it is impossible to build the party with the atmosphere he engenders.

You and I did not get along....but there was one thing in our relationship and that was a certain amount of mutual respect....respect for ideas and principles. And if our fights effected the party, only indirectly in that persons were aware that there was a sharp personal antipathy. ~~XXXX~~ The fights flared up and were forgotten. Did you know that he has expounded the theory that I drove you and Hugh out of Toronto.

With Joe there is none of this. I am convinced, you know, that it is entirely personal. ..but he tries to gloss it over with principles that ~~XXXX~~ he is not even able to clearly express. It's laughable but for some reason he looks upon himself as the political leader of the party. Now in Toronto and if ~~XXXX~~ disagreed "with his document that it was shematic, undialectical and contradictory to the CCF orientation which he claims to support," Montreal too. He has support from Sonia because she doesn't exist outside of Joe, even this is very shaky though, Sonia has been going through a little hell. He is so demanding of her loyalty and yet she wants to work. He has support from Joyce and this is very shaky. She must go through hell. The only other person is Ken who poor fellow thinks politics revolve around petty extraneous issues and loves a conspiracy.

On the basis of the fact that he has squared off the majority of the comrades against himself and is no longer a factor (political) I held out the olive branch. But as you know politics doesn't settle everything in a party. He is now a terrible disruptive force. He is now shaking his fist again. I have tried to talk to him but no go. He mutters a few words and walks away. I went up to his house one evening and he went in and shaved. There is one more trick up my sleeve which I hope will force him to halt in his course.

A fellow you know Sam Pollock is here. You knew him from Youngstown. Joe has quite a respect for him as a trade unionist. (Joe doesn't recognize the superiority of politics to trade unionism) He attended the last meeting and was profoundly shocked. I am going to ask him to use his influence to really go into Joe, even if it means that Joe loses his respect for him, in the hope that it will somehow settle this stupid thing.

Well there you have it.....not a pleasant tale but since you have one side you might as well have the other,

With regards to everything else things are going along fairly well...particularly the CCF.

Signed "R"